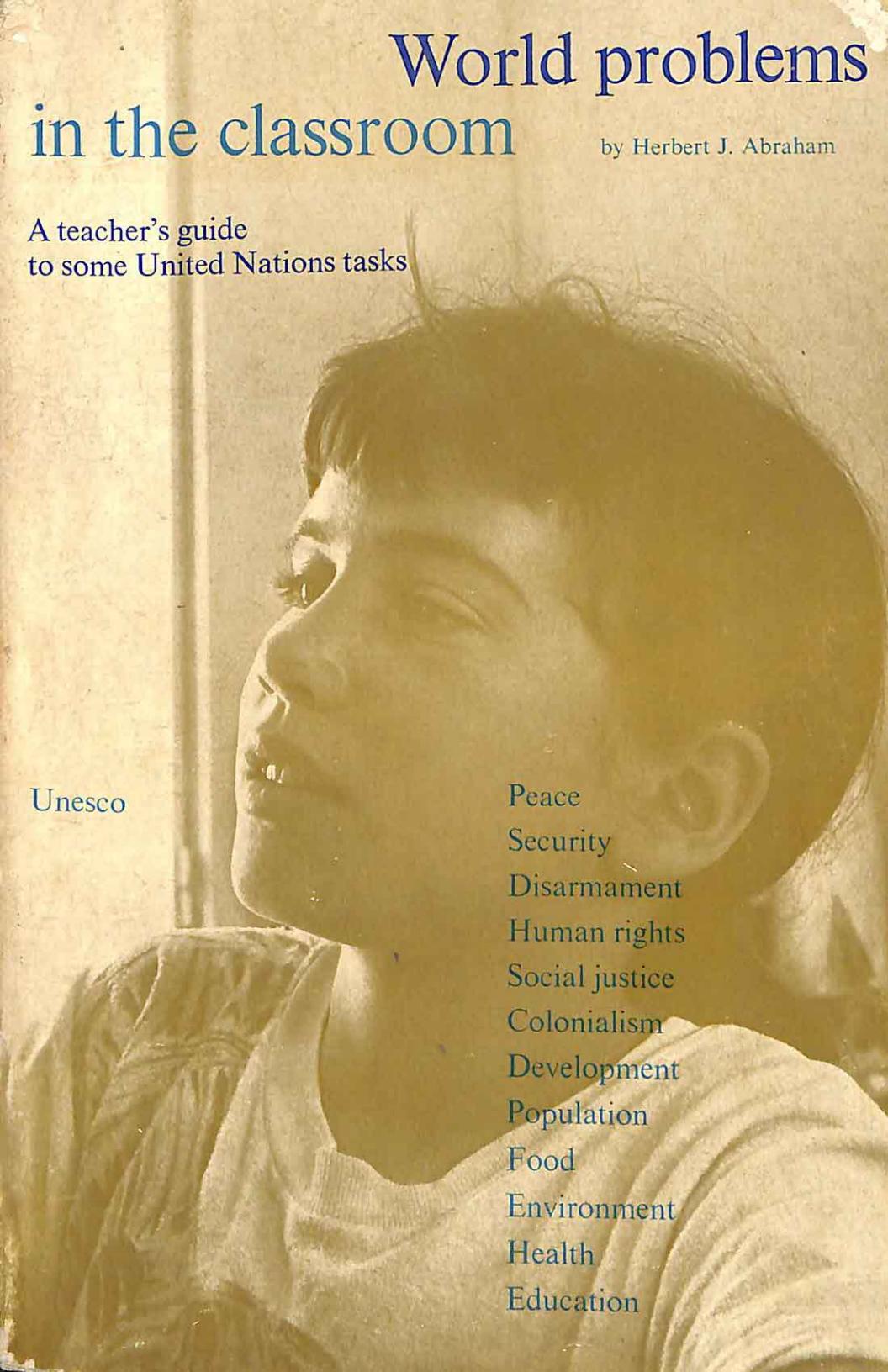


World problems in the classroom

by Herbert J. Abraham

A teacher's guide
to some United Nations tasks

Unesco



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Disarmament
Human rights
Social justice
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Preface



Promoting better international understanding through education has from the outset been one of Unesco's fundamental aims. The continuity of the Organization's long-range effort to further education for international understanding has been ensured by its sovereign body, the General Conference, which at each of its seventeen sessions has adopted resolutions authorizing action in this field. This book fits logically into the pattern of such action.

The purpose of the book is to facilitate teaching about some of the major problems facing the world and what is being done through the United Nations system to deal with them. It is widely recognized that these matters should find a place in school programmes in order to make education fully relevant to contemporary life and to prepare pupils and students adequately for citizen responsibility in the closely knit world community which is taking shape. Yet teachers find it difficult—sometimes impossible—to assemble the basic information they need in order to undertake the task. This book attempts to provide some of this information in a form which teachers, and perhaps pupils or students as well, will find readily usable.

The author of the book, Herbert J. Abraham, is an educator with long international experience in the field of education for international understanding. For many years chief of the unit of the Unesco Secretariat charged with responsibility for the execution of the Organization's programme in this area, he became Professor of Education at Moorhead State Teachers College in Moorhead, Minnesota (United States of America). While in this latter position he maintained his association with Unesco.

by accepting missions as a consultant on education for international understanding in various Member States.

Dr Abraham was given complete freedom in the preparation of the text. He has drawn throughout upon documentation made available by the United Nations and its Related Agencies and has had the assistance of the secretariats of some of these organizations, whose help is gratefully acknowledged. The selection and interpretation of the facts, however, are the author's own and do not necessarily represent the official position of Unesco or of any of the other organizations consulted.

The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Unesco Secretariat concerning the legal status of any country or territory, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

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Introduction

The Greek philosopher Aristotle stated the two basic purposes of an organized social-political community: survival and the good life. He wrote this over two thousand years ago, and he was referring to the small city-states of Greece. Today the human race as a whole shares these two basic problems on a world-wide scale: how to survive; how to assure a good life to its members. We need a system of organized international co-operation in order to cope with these basic world-wide problems. The United Nations and its family of related organizations are the principal institutions so far established for this purpose. Young people should begin in school to learn about these problems and about the aims, the difficulties and the progress of international co-operation, because these are matters of capital importance to all of us.

The following statement is taken from the report of a meeting of specialists in education for international understanding held at Unesco Headquarters in August 1970 :¹

In broad terms, the task confronting all who are concerned with the quality and relevance of education is to help the school, the teacher-training institution and the university to catch up with developments in the world outside their walls.

In general young people today receive more information about the contemporary world outside educational institutions than they receive within them. Because of mass media, the earth as a whole has become their immediate environment. They are aware of world

1. Unesco document ED/MD/17, paras. 9-10.

events and concerned about them. Education should help them to view these in perspective, to interpret them on the basis of knowledge tempered with judgment, to orient themselves towards the super-ordinate goals of humanity. At present, the educational process is not effectively discharging these tasks.

Probably most teachers would concede the validity of these judgements; at the same time they might point out some of the obstacles confronting efforts to develop education in schools about the problems of the contemporary world.

To some, the idea of teaching about 'world problems' may seem to be excessively ambitious and beyond the powers of both teachers and students, at least below the level of college courses in international relations. In fact, however, teachers in many countries are teaching about world problems and the United Nations, especially in the context of courses in civics and social studies. The United Nations and Unesco and the International Conference on Public Education have recommended that the work and problems of the United Nations be studied in school, and many countries send periodic reports to the United Nations on what they are doing in this respect. Teachers and schools, indeed, form the largest class of consumers of United Nations informational publications. Many educated adults—and many teachers among them—have an informed understanding of the main world-wide problems with which the United Nations deals. And, as noted by the committee of specialists in the quotation above, young people as well as adults have been made aware of global problems through the press, radio and television.

Indeed, it may be that many young people who have emerged from adolescence in recent years have grasped some central ideas about the collective problems and destiny of the human race more thoroughly than some of their elders who argue that these matters are too difficult and complex for young people to understand. This is to be expected, for their concepts and outlook have been influenced in their formative years by the very events and processes, ideas and controversies, conflicts and co-operative actions which constitute the contemporary social environment.

Even granting this, some teachers may still have reservations. World problems by their very nature are bound up with questions that are topical and controversial, and many schools and teachers hesitate to deal with these. Their reluctance does not necessarily arise from timidity: the history teacher can say with some reason that the perspective of time is necessary in order to view events clearly and in the round. But many events and problems which may seem safely distant in the past are still the subject of controversy and of conflicting interpretation. Teachers often deal with these by exploring with their pupils the relevant facts and views and trying, together, to arrive at some conclusions about them. A similar approach can be used in treating contemporary problems. At any rate, the effort must be made, or the school will have abdicated one of its most important obligations—that of helping to prepare young people for adult responsibility in the 'global village' which they must inhabit and one day manage.

And there are yet other difficulties. Some of the main ones are similar to those which obstruct any kind of educational change and advance. School curricula and syllabuses must be opened up to accommodate new subject matter. This does not necessarily require an extensive overhaul of school programmes, or even the addition of new courses of study, but it does involve adjustments which, in some educational systems, are not easy to make. Teachers must be prepared for new tasks, and in this field in particular such preparation may necessitate not only mastering new bodies of information but also adapting teaching methods and approaches to new purposes. The development of international understanding, which should be one of the end-products of teaching about world problems, is not a purely cognitive process. Therefore, education for this purpose should aim not only at the communication of knowledge but also at the formation of attitudes and patterns of behaviour which will endure in adult life. The traditional range of teaching methods may consequently need to be broadened to include new ways of working and even new teacher-pupil relationships. For example, the meaning of human rights and responsibilities cannot be conveyed convincingly in a situation which vests all authority,

wisdom and responsibility in a single person—in this instance, the teacher—and requires of others that they be merely passive objects. In education for this purpose, in other words, the methods and approaches used in teaching can be as important as the matter.

A further difficulty arises in a good many countries from the lack of suitable teaching materials. School textbooks are slow to catch up with issues and events and, as regards current world problems, they are frequently out of date. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise. The preparation or revision of textbooks is a long and costly process and we live in a world where the pace of developments is bound to leave them somewhat behind. In industrially developed countries, teachers can and do make use of other resources in addition to textbooks—books, newspapers, magazines, television broadcasts, and so on—but such resources are meagre in some countries. Even in the best of circumstances, it is a time-consuming and difficult task for the teacher to assemble from disparate sources these materials that add up to a balanced view of a given world problem.

That the difficulties mentioned above can be overcome to an extent that makes it possible to teach effectively about world problems has been demonstrated by the experience of schools and teachers in many countries with widely different educational systems and resources. The Unesco Associated Schools Project in Education for International Co-operation and Peace provides an encouraging example. Through it, some nine hundred primary schools, secondary schools and teacher training institutions in sixty-two countries work together in a programme designed to promote education about world problems and the United Nations, about human rights and about other cultures. The project and its results are described in detail in another Unesco publication.¹

This book, it is hoped, will facilitate the task of schools and teachers in developing educational programmes concerned with world problems and international co-operation. It presents some basic information about some of the main problems confronting

1. *International Understanding at School*, Paris, Unesco, 1971, 4th impression.

the world today and explains some of the steps taken through the United Nations system to deal with them. Most of these problems are related in ways which make it possible to move from one to another in logical transitions and to enhance the understanding of one problem in teaching about others which are linked to it. Moreover, they present subjects which fit appropriately into contexts provided by school curricula and syllabuses and which lend themselves well to a multi-disciplinary treatment through various courses of study. Thus, it is not necessary to invent an occasion to introduce them, but only to profit from those which already exist in school programmes. Experience in the Associated Schools Projects, as well as in many other instances, indicates that both teachers and pupils will find the introduction of the new material stimulating and beneficial.

While the book has been designed primarily for use at the secondary and teacher training levels of education, it may also be found useful in out-of-school education programmes for young people and adults. The concept of lifelong education implies that learning neither begins nor ends with the school, and certainly it is as important for those outside the school to have a grasp of these matters as for those inside the school.

In a work of such modest proportions the author has had to be selective and, with much regret, has excluded a number of topics and activities of the United Nations and its Related Agencies which would be as appropriate for classroom treatment as those included here. Thus, by way of example, there is no mention of developing peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency; of the regulation of air transport and the work of the International Civil Aviation Organization; of the various problems with which the World Meteorological Organization, the International Telecommunications Union and the Universal Postal Union deal. It is hoped that teachers will explore these matters themselves and find a place for them in their teaching.

The problems selected for treatment are among those which seem to be of the widest and most pressing concern in the world today. They are problems which can be dealt with

effectively only through international co-operative action on a world scale. They are problems which must be resolved if the peoples of the world are to have the peaceful and prosperous future which all men of good will seek. The chances of achieving that future can be improved by providing young people in schools with the beginnings of a clear understanding of them.

The road to San Francisco

The United Nations was established in 1945 by countries which were allied in the fight against the Axis aggressors. With the Second World War near its end, delegates of fifty countries met in San Francisco for the United Nations Conference on International Organization and the Charter of the new organization, to be known as the United Nations, was drawn up and signed on 26 June. It was agreed that the Charter would come into effect and that the organization would officially come into existence when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and by a majority of the other signatory States. This was the case on 24 October which is therefore the birthday of the United Nations, celebrated as United Nations Day.

In addition to the United Nations,¹ international organizations have been established for mutual aid and co-operation in solving problems connected with economic development, food and agriculture, the welfare of workers, education, health and many other

1. It would be more convenient for teachers and pupils if the principal organization were referred to as the United Nations Organization not just 'United Nations'. As it is, 'United Nations' technically indicates the principal organization, but popularly refers to the whole United Nations family. The official handbook *Everyman's United Nations* deals mainly and in detail with the work of the principal organization, and very briefly with the Specialized Agencies. On the other hand, many who teach about the 'United Nations' concentrate on the work of the Specialized Agencies. It is generally satisfactory in teaching younger pupils and talking to the general public to simplify by saying that FAO, WHO, ILO, Unesco, etc. are the 'parts of the United Nations' that handle food and agriculture problems, health problems, welfare of workers, education, etc.

fields. Most of these are known as 'Specialized Agencies' related to the United Nations, because each has a field of specialization (but a very large field); they work closely with the United Nations which, to some extent, supervises and co-ordinates their activities.

What led to the establishment of the United Nations?

Everyone knows that science and technology are drastically changing our social and natural environment. This has been the case for centuries past. What astounds and bewilders is the rate and scale of change evidenced in the expansion of scientific knowledge and the creation of new technology, in their application to all branches of the economy, in their impact on ways of life and in their multiplication of power in the hands of men. Men speak of the annihilation of time and space, referring to the instantaneity of communications around the globe and into space, and the speed of travel by jet and rocket. The explosion of the atom bomb in 1945 opened the United Nations era and in 1969, before the United Nations was 25 years old, a man walked on the moon. These two achievements, a generation apart, have above all others given almost literal meaning to that phrase 'the annihilation of time and space', and have startled human beings everywhere into awareness of their common humanity.

The founders of the United Nations could not foresee the terrifying armoury of nuclear weapons or the exhilarating voyages into space. Some may have glimpsed these as distant possibilities, for rockets had bombarded London in 1945 and scientific knowledge basic to the 'splitting of the atom' already existed, although progress towards successful attainment of a controlled nuclear chain reaction was still a well-guarded military secret. The founders of the United Nations were as ignorant of the course events would take in the next twenty-five years as we are of the next quarter of a century. But they did have ample knowledge and experience to foresee the need for the United Nations. They had experienced, they said in the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, 'the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind'.

The elder statesmen at San Francisco could remember the

years before the First World War (1914–18), which seemed tranquil in retrospect. In the preceding centuries, people of Western Europe had explored, settled in, and conquered large parts of the globe. The United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany ruled over much of Asia and Africa. The Russian empire extended from the Baltic sea to the Pacific; the descendants of Europeans took possession of the Americas. In the nineteenth century the energy resources of coal, electricity and oil had been harnessed, industrial production multiplied, food and raw materials flowed in from the colonies. International commerce flourished, as did international investment, for the great banking firms could see an endless vista of minerals to be excavated, railroads to be built, foundries and factories to be raised, in the secure setting of their country's colonies and the boundless underdeveloped territories of Russia, the Americas and Australasia. The weak and unindustrialized empires, such as Turkey and China, could not resist the military might of the west; they had yielded rights of trade and investment, and it seemed probable that they would soon accept Western overlordship.

In the homelands of the Great Powers, population had multiplied as much as four or six times in a hundred years. There was a sufficient force of skilled and unskilled labour, which was maintained by the ever-increasing stream of manufactured goods and the flow of food and raw materials from abroad. Cities swelled from a few thousand to hundreds of thousands, even millions, and urban ways of living predominated over rural. Public sanitation and public health measures had eliminated cholera and were bringing many other diseases under control. It could not be denied that the rise to power and prosperity had been accompanied by the most extreme misery for millions of persons, with the rural poor deprived of land and employment, the migrants to the cities and their children living in squalid urban slums, men, women and children toiling in mines and factories for a meagre wage, always facing the spectre of unemployment followed by starvation or the degradation of public charity. Strikes by workers and demonstrations by the unemployed showed that discontent and grievances persisted, even in the tranquil days of pre-1914. But it was possible for

optimists to feel assured that the worst evils of industrialization were in the past, for the general standard of living had risen; the benefit of elementary education had been extended to most children; some forms of social insurance against unemployment and sickness had been set up, and in general the condition of the working class was better than it ever had been. As to the inhabitants of the colonies, it was taken for granted by their rulers that they were much better off under the government of the civilized Great Powers than they had ever been, in spite of shocking episodes which had been widely publicized, but which were disregarded as exaggerated on exceptional. On the whole, in 1914, the reasonably well-to-do in the Western industrialized countries had grounds for believing that progress was inevitable and were looking forward to an era of peace and prosperity. Yet the Great Powers were rivals for power; they armed competitively; they formed alliances—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, in the Triple Alliance; Britain, France, Russia, in the Triple Entente.

The statesmen in San Francisco could remember the Great War (1914–18). In July 1914, a shocking incident of seemingly minor political importance—the murder of an Austrian prince by a fanatic from the neighbouring country of Serbia—precipitated the demands, the invocations of national honour, the appeals to allies, the pledges of support, the warnings, the threats, the mobilizations, the ultimatums, the invasions which culminated in a war that engulfed the Great Powers: the Triple Alliance and Turkey against the Triple Entente and Japan and Belgium and (in 1917) the United States. The First World War, also called the War to End Wars and the Great War, ended with the defeat of the Triple Alliance; Germany was deprived of colonies, Austria-Hungary was broken up into smaller independent states, the Turkish Empire was shattered and its Arab dependencies placed under British and French protection.

The statesmen at San Francisco could also recall the troubled years between the two wars—such memories as these:

The slowness of economic recovery, inflation, trade wars, worldwide economic collapse and depression. In most of Western

Europe, factories and machinery had not been destroyed (in some respects they had been improved for war production) but much of the equipment was run down. How was a shattered system of investment, production and international trade to be reconstructed? The Western powers emerged with enormous national debts—debts to their own people, debts to the United States. The Allies tried to make Germany pay: it was impossible. The United States tried to collect on the war debts: it was impossible. Taxation at home soared. The cost of living, the price of everything, had gone up and up during the war; it went still further up. The purchasing power of national currencies went down. For smooth international trading, buyers and sellers must be confident that the national currencies will keep the same values for a long time. This confidence was lost. The economies gradually recovered, but in a stumbling way. Governments tried to protect their own industries from foreign competition. Tariffs and quotas and other barriers to trade went up. The United States, with its own vast domestic markets and boundless resources and enterprise, seemed to grow steadily more prosperous, but by 1930, it tumbled with other countries into the Depression.

Conflicts of ideologies: capitalistic liberal democracy, communism, fascism. Many people in many countries hoped and believed that the Great War, calamitous though it was, would end militarism and aggressive nationalism and despotic forms of government. They looked upon President Wilson as their spokesman: it was a 'war to make the world safe for democracy'; the victory was a victory of liberal democracy—as represented by such conceptions as a free press, freedom of political activity, free elections, representative government, equality under the law, religious toleration and free trade unions. This kind of democracy was instituted in some newly independent countries and expanded with more social welfare legislation in the 'older' democracies. But new systems also developed. On the one hand, the Communists established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Communism—as represented by such conceptions as public ownership of the means of production and distribution; the dictatorship of the proletariat; the establishment of the classless society—was fundamentally

opposed to some basic institutions and practices of capitalism. On the other hand, some new movements came to power—Fascism in Italy (1922), National Socialism in Germany (1933)—which rejected not capitalism but rather the basic concepts of freedom. They proclaimed that individuals were completely subordinate to the State; that their own people were of a higher race and entitled to rule inferior peoples and that they would establish that rule by war.

Unrest in colonies. Between the two wars, movements which demanded self-government developed in various parts of the colonial empires. In India, whose population far surpassed that of the rest of the British empire, the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi especially, with his doctrine and technique of non-violent resistance, won world-wide sympathy. But the first successful movement for complete independence was that of Ireland (1921). The idea that colonial powers had a duty to prepare subject peoples for self-government gained much support. At the end of the war, the victorious Allies were determined to punish Germany and Turkey by taking away their colonies, but they accepted the principle that they should prepare these colonies for self-government, under a mandate from the League of Nations. Some could regard this as a hypocritical device by which the British and French annexed these territories (Arab countries and parts of Africa, chiefly) but it set a precedent. In the minds of some people, the movement towards independence was linked with the spread of Communism, which held that imperialism and capitalism must be overthrown together. The governments of the colonial powers suppressed or conciliated the leaders of these movements in varying degrees, but were determined to retain their empires. Moreover, in the 1930s, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Japan (where the military now had effective control) intended to acquire colonies. Japan occupied Manchuria (1931) and parts of China's coast. Italy invaded Ethiopia (1935); Germany looked for its 'living space' to the east and occupied Czechoslovakia and Poland (1939).

Near-successes and failures of the League of Nations. During the First World War, some people urged that when peace was restored an international organization should be established to prevent further wars. President Wilson backed the idea, and aroused world-wide popular support so that the *Covenant* (Constitution) of the League of Nations was included in the Peace Treaty of Versailles (1919). Even though the United States of America eventually failed to join and the U.S.S.R. was outside until 1933, the League looked for some years as if it might become fairly effective, especially when Germany was admitted (1926). Many people thought that a peace-minded Germany co-operating with the other great European powers would assure peace. Some agreements to limit naval building were made in the 1920s; many countries signed a declaration renouncing the use of war as an instrument of national policy. Neither was a League action but they seemed to be steps in the same direction. The League settled some international disputes, worked at defining aggression and on plans for mutual aid against aggressors. A conference on disarmament was convened. But when Japan occupied Manchuria, the League was powerless to intervene. Hitler's Nazi Party came into power in Germany, and Germany quit the League and the Disarmament Conference. When Italy invaded Ethiopia, the League did react strongly and imposed economic sanctions: it seemed as though the League was about to succeed. As it turned out, the governments of the Great Powers would not take the risk of enforcing the League's recommendations to the limit: perhaps the absence of the United States was a factor in this. In 1936, Mussolini proclaimed the end of the war and the annexation by Italy of Ethiopia. Although the U.S.S.R. had now joined the League, this failure and the failure of the disarmament conference destroyed confidence and public support.

The statesmen at San Francisco could recall the events that preceded the Second World War, the course of that war, and its immediate effects. People speculated as to whether the war could have been averted: (a) if the United States and the U.S.S.R. had been in the League throughout; (b) if the League had stopped Japan and Italy; (c) if the other Great Powers had

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threatened to use force, and had used force as necessary, to stop Hitler when he rearmed Germany, rejected the Versailles Treaty, annexed Austria, invaded Czechoslovakia; and so on.

Millions of fighting men died in the Second World War as in the First, but in addition great cities were destroyed, factories and homes demolished, and innumerable civilians across Asia and Europe killed. The intensified inhumanity of war had been compounded by the Nazi policy of exterminating 'inferior races'. At the close of the war, the former Great Powers of Europe were dependent on the United States of America for arms and food and capital. They had been unable to hold their Far Eastern colonies against Japan. The U.S.S.R., though terribly devastated in the west and south, possessed vast territories and resources, had built great industries for war production and had acquired some territories to the west. It seemed clear that the United States and U.S.S.R. would be the giants, the superstates of the post-war world. It was clear, too, that all the problems of political and social and economic reconstruction that faced the world after the First World War had now reappeared in more extreme forms, and that the claims of colonies to self-government had been given new strength. It was necessary to start again.

Since 1945. The statesmen who drew up the Charter of the United Nations in 1945 could look back over twenty-five years to the establishment of the League of Nations. Older people today can look back over twenty-five years to the establishment of the United Nations. What events and changes stand out now in memory? And how does this remembered quarter-century compare with its predecessor?

Since 1945, we have been *spared a world-wide war*. Wars have occurred, but they have been localized. We have *not* suffered a world-wide economic depression. On the contrary, following the years of the reconstruction, marked by shortages and of production and sustained prosperity beyond all expectations. We have witnessed the break-up of Western European empires. Within the quarter-century fifty-nine territories had become sovereign States and others were on the verge of independence.

The population of all remaining territories in 1970 numbered about 28 million and most of these were in five territories in Africa: Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa (Namibia), and the Portuguese-administered territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. The welfare of these people was a matter of international concern.¹

The so-called 'cold war' between the two strongest powers, the United States and U.S.S.R., and the States associated with them, stands out in memory, as does the isolation of the Government and people of mainland China until the early 1970s. The hostile postures of these Great Powers, armed now with nuclear weapons and missiles, continued to chill the hopes for permanent peace. Moreover, during these years, international disputes became intertwined with domestic conflicts between partisans of rival social, political and economic ideologies; and it became the more difficult to build an international system to stop aggression as it became more difficult to distinguish aggression from subversion, support for insurgency or counter-insurgency or intervention at the request of a domestic faction.

This was a quarter-century in which new technology impinged directly on the lives of all human beings; in which television and the aeroplane shrank the time of communication and transportation and annihilated obstacles of distance; in which the 70,000-ton passenger ship gave way to the 500,000-ton oil-tanker; in which the computer began to transform the manner of processing information and managing transactions. It was a period in which a kind of planetary consciousness emerged, in which it became possible and necessary to take a world-wide view, to recognize world-wide problems and to think in practical terms about the means of solving them.

1. See 'Ending Colonialism', page 88 *et seq.*

The United Nations

Aims of the founders

The founders of the United Nations stated their intentions in the Preamble to the Charter:

1. To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.
2. To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, the equal rights of men and women, and the equal rights of nations.
3. To establish conditions which will help maintain justice and respect for international obligations.
4. To promote social progress.
5. To practise tolerance and live as good neighbours.
6. To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security.
7. To ensure that armed force shall not be used, except in the common interest.
8. To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

Following this statement of intentions, the Charter itself starts with a statement of the *Purposes* of the United Nations and the *Principles* which are to guide the actions of the organization and its members.

Purposes of the United Nations

1. To maintain international peace and security.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect

for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

3. To co-operate in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

To fulfil the purposes for which it was established, the United Nations acts in accordance with the following principles, as set forth in Article 2 of the Charter:

Principles

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.
2. Members are to fulfil in good faith the obligations they have assumed under the Charter.
3. They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means.
4. They are to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.
5. They are to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the Organization is taking preventive or enforcement action.
6. The United Nations is to ensure that non-members act in accordance with these principles so far as is necessary for maintaining international peace and security.
7. The Organization is not to intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. This provision does not, however, prevent enforcement action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.

Organs of the United Nations

The structure or machinery which organizations devise for themselves in order to work usually includes several parts or branches. Many organizations have an annual meeting of the members which makes important policy decisions, decides on a budget and dues, and elects officers; an executive committee and other committees; officers such as president, secretary, treasurer; and perhaps a full-time staff with a head manager. The constitutions of some countries provide for three main 'branches' of government: legislature, executive, judiciary.

In the United Nations the principal parts of the 'machinery' or branches established by the Charter are called 'organs'. These are: (a) the General Assembly; (b) the Security Council; (c) the Economic and Social Council; (d) the Trusteeship Council; (e) the International Court of Justice; and (f) the Secretariat, headed by the Secretary-General. There are also many subordinate bodies or committees, and more or less autonomous agencies connected with the United Nations.

Do these United Nations organs resemble the typical organizational structure described above? Do they resemble the branches of a government?

Compared with other organizations, the United Nations *General Assembly* is like an annual general meeting or conference. All Member States can attend—that is, send a delegation; all Member States have equal voting rights—one vote for one Member State. Members may place on the agenda and discuss almost any question that concerns the United Nations, with this exception: the Assembly does not take up a *peace and security* problem which the Security Council is working on. Like other annual general meetings, the Assembly decides major policy questions about the kinds of new activities the Organization should undertake, and receives reports from other organs and subordinate bodies. It admits new members (but only those recommended by the Security Council), appoints the chief permanent official, the Secretary-General (but again only someone recommended by

the Security Council), and decides what the budget will be and how much each member will pay.

Does the General Assembly resemble a legislature?

Consider this statement: 'I would be the first to concede that the United Nations is far from being perfect. But I also feel that people often criticize the United Nations because of a basic misunderstanding of its nature. The United Nations is not a world government, nor is its General Assembly a world legislature. It is, in a sense, of course, the parliament of mankind as it gives opportunities for the large and the small countries equally to have their say on major issues, and this is the original meaning of a parliament. But it is not a world legislature with the authority to pass laws binding on all Member Governments; its resolutions are more in the nature of recommendations than of statutes.'¹

The Secretariat is like the staff of any organization or government and is often called the 'International Civil Service'. Is the head official, the Secretary-General, like an Executive Director? Yes, but he is also much more. No job in the world really resembles his. For, according to the Charter, 'he may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security'. He is therefore a watchdog and a spokesman; and since he has sources of information from all countries and since he speaks as the servant of the whole United Nations, he is listened to attentively. In addition, the Secretary-General personally embodies the fourth purpose of the United Nations: 'to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations'. Much of the work of the United Nations is done in quiet consultation among delegates who constantly report back to their governments which, in turn, may modify their views and send new instructions to the delegates. The Secretary-General and his top staff work closely with the presiding officers of the Security Council and the General Assembly to bring delegates together

1. U Thant, *Portfolio for Peace*.

for consultation, and he may give useful advice in these informal discussions. U Thant, the former Secretary-General, has said:

One of the primary objectives of the founding fathers was that this world Organization, which I have the privilege to serve, was meant to serve as a centre harmonizing the actions of Member States, with a view to the attainment of common objectives—peace, prosperity, social development, and so on and so forth. This harmonizing aspect of the United Nations, in my view, is the most important provision of the Charter.

Since I have functioned as the Secretary-General of the United Nations it has been my constant endeavour to approach all problems from this basic point: how can I harmonize the actions and attitudes of Member States, particularly of contending States, with a view to the achievement of common objectives?

In this connexion, I want to relate what the late President Roosevelt proposed in 1944, just a year before the founding of the United Nations. He suggested that the chief executive of the United Nations Organization should be called the 'Moderator', not the 'Secretary-General', because, in his view, the term 'Secretary-General' was likely to be misleading. To him, the primary function of the chief executive of the United Nations was to moderate, to conciliate, to find a consensus, to harmonize, which would be in strict conformity with the language of the Charter. Unfortunately, this proposal was not accepted by other leaders.

I believe that this description of my office 'Moderator', is a very apt one for the type of work I am expected to perform. As I have said, during the last fifty-eight months in my present capacity, my approach to most problems has been motivated by this one primary aim: how can I find a common denominator between the contending parties?¹

Does the United Nations have an Executive Committee?

No: it does not have a single committee with this function. It has instead the Councils mentioned above, which have wide but specialized responsibilities. *The Economic and Social Council* is responsible for promoting international co-operation in economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related fields and for promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

1. U Thant, *op. cit.*

The Trusteeship Council is responsible for the operation of the 'trusteeship system' under which some territories in Africa and in the Pacific Ocean have been governed. The countries which administer Trust Territories for the United Nations have the duty of preparing them for self-government. This system has worked so well that out of eleven Trust Territories originally placed under it all but two are now independent and the Trusteeship Council has nearly worked itself out of a job.

The Security Council has primary responsibility for keeping the peace, settling disputes and stopping aggression. This job obviously is not like that of any part of any other organization in the world. In some ways it seems to resemble the functions of the executive branch of a government which manages foreign relations, negotiates with foreign countries, keeps order at home and operates the armed forces and the police. But there is this vast difference: the United Nations does not have any armed forces or police; it is *not* a government. That is a basic fact which poses the problem: how is the United Nations to get the forces it may need to deter aggressors and, if necessary, to stop them? Another basic fact: some countries are much more powerful than others. How can the United Nations make sure that the powerful countries will contribute forces and co-operate?

The founders of the United Nations proposed a solution to these problems and put it into the Charter. The problem and the proposed solution explain the distinctive role of the Security Council and the rules it works under. They said in effect: if the most powerful countries take part in making the decisions about settlement of disputes and stopping aggression, and if these powerful countries all agree with the decisions, then they will be prepared to give the help that the United Nations will need to carry out the decisions, including armed force if necessary: but if even one of the Great Powers opposes a decision about the settlement of a dispute or about enforcement action, then it will refuse to co-operate and the United Nations will not be able to enforce a decision, and should not try to. Therefore, we must make sure that the Great Powers are members of the Security Council and that these great powers all agree before the Council makes a decision about a dispute or about enforcing a decision.

In the Charter five Great Powers are named: China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States; these five powers are permanent members of the Security Council. Ten other members are elected by the Assembly for two-year terms. Decisions are made by affirmative votes of at least nine members, *but* these votes must include the *concurrence of all the permanent members*. In other words, if a permanent member votes 'no' there is no decision. ('Abstaining' is regarded as acquiescing or concurring.)¹

Financing

To judge from what the Charter says about the budget, finance should not be a serious problem for the United Nations: the General Assembly, in which all Member States have a vote, decides what the budget will be for the next year and 'apportions' the cost among the Member States. If a member does not pay for two years in a row it loses its right to vote in the Assembly unless it can successfully plead 'special circumstances'.

It has not worked out so simply. The difficulty has not been in getting agreement on how much each country should pay, as one might expect. A 'scale of assessments' for contributions exists which is revised from time to time and which is based in general on 'capacity to pay'. In 1971, the largest contributor, the United States, was apportioned 31.52 per cent, the U.S.S.R. 14.18 per cent, France 6 per cent, Thailand 0.13 per cent.

The United Nations and the related agencies have undertaken extensive programmes for helping the less developed Member States, and they finance a large part of this expensive work out of special funds to which Member States contribute voluntarily—not out of the regular budget. Also, much help for 'development' is provided in the form of loans by the International Bank. All this means that the 'regular budget' to which the

1. What if a permanent member stays out of a meeting? This happened once: the U.S.S.R. stayed out of the meeting at which the Korean question was first discussed. The Council decided that 'absence' was like abstaining, a vote of 'concurrence'. The U.S.S.R. argued later that absence and 'not voting' is not a 'concurrent vote' and that the Council's decision on Korea was therefore unconstitutional.

Charter refers covers only a part of the actual work of the United Nations. An example is the work of Unicef, the United Nations Children's Fund, which is paid for largely out of voluntary contributions from governments and from private individuals (about \$30 million in 1970). The United Nations Development Programme gets very large voluntary contributions from governments (about \$200 million in 1970). Each of the related agencies has its own regular budget.

The main complication arises from the fact that the United Nations has carried out some 'peace-keeping' operations in different parts of the world. These have cost more than the regular budget provided and have had to be paid for out of the capital fund or by loans. But some of these operations were opposed by some members, who refused to contribute towards these large supplementary expenditures. Thus, the United Nations has continually faced a financial crisis.

It should be remembered, therefore, that one reason why the United Nations moves slowly and hesitantly is that the Member States sometimes will not provide the money for bolder actions; and the United Nations depends on contributions; it has no authority to collect taxes.

Questions for study and discussion

1. *Finance*

(a) Is the United Nations too expensive?

The regular budget for the United Nations was about \$169 million in 1970.

The cost of developing a prototype of a supersonic passenger plane is over \$1,000 million.

World expenditures on armaments rose from \$120,000 million in 1962 to \$180,000 million in 1967.

Two days of the 'small' war in Viet-Nam cost about one year of the United Nations' regular budget.

(b) Get figures for national expenditures on armed services and armaments and various social services; and figures for cost of local services.

(c) What percentage of your taxes goes to the regular budget of the

United Nations and of other United Nations agencies; goes to aid other countries through the United Nations; goes to bilateral aid programmes?

(d) The United Nations gets some money by selling United Nations postage stamps and publications and from various fees. Could the United Nations be made self-supporting?

2. *What does the Charter say about membership?* The Charter says that certain countries shall be *original members*, and that membership shall be 'open' to all other States which:

- (a) Are peace-loving;
- (b) Accept the obligations contained in the Charter;
- (c) Are considered by the United Nations to be 'able and willing to carry out these obligations'.

A country may be *expelled* if it has 'persistently violated' the Principles of the Charter. (See Article 2 for Principles).

The countries which were members of the United Nations in November 1972 are named on page 175. The *original* fifty-one members are indicated by an asterisk. These were the countries which signed a Declaration by the Allies in the war against Germany, Italy, and Japan, during the Second World War, or which attended the San Francisco Conference and later ratified the Charter.

3. *Map exercise for a class.* Let several groups each take a continent and locate *original* members and members subsequently admitted. There may be some difficulty if:

- (a) The atlas is not up to date, since some countries may have become independent and some may have changed their names since it was published;
- (b) The map is not on a large enough scale; some countries in the United Nations are very small.

4. *Which of the countries have become independent since 1945?* When? From what countries have they become independent?

5. *Why are some countries not members?* Note the steps involved in becoming a member. First, country X *applies* for membership. Second, the Security Council votes—and the 'veto' principle applies here: if *one* of the permanent members votes 'No', the application is rejected. Third, the General Assembly votes. The Assembly has always accepted a country recommended by the Security Council: so we can concentrate on the first two steps.

- (a) A country may decide not to apply. Again, *why*? One can think of reasons: for example, a country may have a policy of neutrality and not wish to accept obligations which could lead it into military commitments.
- (b) Some countries may not apply because they know they will not be admitted. Everybody knows that at present there is an 'East Germany' and a 'West Germany', a 'North Korea' and a 'South Korea', a 'North Viet-Nam' and a 'South Viet-Nam'. These countries were divided immediately after a war; the division was intended to be temporary; in fact, one part has a Communist government, and the other part non-Communist. It is easy to see that the members of the Security Council and the countries themselves find it very hard—up to now, impossible—to agree on their joining the United Nations since this matter is interrelated with many serious problems. Some of these countries do, in fact, take part in some of the activities of the United Nations and are members of the Specialized Agencies and are assessed their share of contributions.
- (c) In legal language, such as is used in the Charter, 'countries' are referred to as 'States'. When the members admit a State, they accept it (or 'recognize' it) as being 'sovereign'. Being 'sovereign' means that a State (i) is independent—not subject to or a part of any other State; (ii) has complete legal authority over its own territory; (iii) has the same rights as any other sovereign State, e.g. to enforce its laws on foreigners who live on its territory; defend itself; make treaties; join—or not join—international organizations, etc. (see page 25, Principles, 'sovereign equality of its members'). One of the problems referred to above in (b) is the question of whether the countries referred to are to be recognized as 'sovereign'.

6. Should a State be excluded on the ground that it is not 'peace-loving'? On what kind of evidence should the members decide that a country that applies for membership is or is not 'peace-loving'? Would the following be a satisfactory rule: the fact that a sovereign State applies for membership (and therefore offers to accept the obligations of members) will be accepted as evidence that it is 'peace-loving' unless the country has been declared by the United Nations to be currently an aggressor or guilty of some acts that threaten international peace?

Peace, security, disarmament

The first purpose of the United Nations is '*to maintain international peace and security*' (Article 1).

If we could do this, we should save people from much suffering and the peoples of the world could put their energies and resources into peaceful activities, into making their own countries better places to live in, and into solving many problems.

Maintaining international peace and security is especially the job of the *Security Council* of the United Nations. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations its members *confer on* the Security Council *primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security* (Article 24).

But the *General Assembly* has the right and duty to help maintain international peace and security. It does not *act* on a dispute which the Security Council is working on, but it can *discuss* the matter; and sometimes the General Assembly takes up questions which the Security Council has failed to act on. In teaching, the basic facts about some of the peace and security problems which have come before the United Nations can be told without specifying whether the Security Council or General Assembly handled the matter. But some knowledge about the *ways* in which the United Nations handles disputes and threatening situations is indispensable in order to understand and follow intelligently future developments as regards the United Nations. This information is also needed if one uses the good teaching device of organizing 'model' meetings of the Council or Assembly.

Powers of the Security Council

What, according to the Charter, are the powers of the Security Council as regards maintenance of peace and security? They can be explained as follows:

1. The Council starts considering a dispute or a situation that might lead to international trouble, when a country involved in the dispute, or any other member of the United Nations, asks it to do so.
2. The Council may then decide to investigate the situation, to find out whether the dispute or situation is likely to endanger peace and security. (At this stage, or any later stage, the Council may decide not to go further. For example, it may decide that the question is an internal problem in one country and not likely to lead to international trouble; or it may decide that the dispute has already been settled.)
3. The Council may urge (call on) the countries involved in a dispute to settle the dispute peacefully.
4. The Council may recommend to the parties concerned some *methods* for use in trying to settle the dispute. These methods include: negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement. (See below for explanation of these terms.)
5. If the dispute is not settled in this way, the Council may recommend the *terms* of a settlement.

(Note: Both (4) and (5) might be expressed as follows: the Council recommends how the dispute should be settled. But 'how' means different things; in (4) it means ways of trying to settle the dispute; in (5) it means 'what the solution should be'.)

These five steps are intended to prevent a dispute or a dangerous situation from getting worse and to ensure that it is settled peacefully.

What happens if the dispute gets worse at any stage, or after all these steps, and fighting seems likely to start or does start? Then the Council has the legal powers to do these things:

6. The Council may decide on some 'provisional measures' and call on (or demand) that the countries concerned carry them

out. (For example, the Council might call on them to stop bombing, or take their soldiers back behind the frontier.)

7. If this is not enough, the Council may decide that the members of the United Nations should bring pressure to bear on one side or the other—or both—by non-military action (example: by stopping trade).
8. And if this is not enough, the Council may ‘take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security’.

This means military action, or war.

The foregoing are powers for peace-keeping which the Charter grants to the Security Council. In some situations, the General Assembly has the right to act in some of these ways.

Terminology

Negotiation. A Secretary-General has said that the key to a peaceful settlement of issues dividing States and peoples which lead to armed conflict, or threaten to do so, is *negotiation*. Negotiations may be undertaken in different ways. There is no fixed formula controlling them. The Secretary-General here uses the term ‘negotiations’ in the broad sense of *confer*, *discuss* and *bargain so as to reach a settlement*. ‘Direct negotiation’ indicates that the representatives of two (or more) States involved meet with one another, confront one another face to face. In the Middle East situation, Israel has insisted that negotiations with the Arab States must be *direct* negotiations. The Arab States would thereby (partly at least) ‘recognize’ that Israel is a State. The Arab States have refused this, but have said they are willing to negotiate through an ‘intermediary’ or ‘third party’. A ‘third party’ who tries to bring both parties together and help them reach agreement is said to use ‘good offices’. The Soviet Union used ‘good offices’ in helping India and Pakistan in 1966.

Mediation takes place when the third party, who remains impartial, uses good offices but also joins in discussion of the issues and, on occasion, makes recommendations about the settlement. In the Middle East dispute in 1949 the *mediator* who

represented the United Nations met separately with Israel and the Arab States to help them reach a settlement.

Conciliation is similar to mediation. Sometimes a *Conciliation Commission* is appointed with representatives from both sides to the dispute and one or more neutral members.

Inquiry means investigation of a dispute so as to get at the facts or clarify the issue. For example, the Security Council sent a Commission of Investigation to Greece in 1946 when Greece complained that neighbouring countries were aiding guerillas. In 1970, Guinea alleged that it has been invaded and the United Nations sent a Committee of Investigation.

Action of the United Nations for peace and security

The United Nations has acted on many disputes in its first twenty-five years. It has used *all* the powers listed above, at one time or another, even including military action.

Here are some examples:

Greece and neighbouring States. In 1946 Greece charged that Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were aiding Greek guerillas who were trying to overthrow the government. Greece asked the United Nations to investigate the matter. The United Nations sent a Committee of Investigation, the majority of which reported that the charge was justified. The United Nations recommended that the four countries settle the dispute peacefully and appointed a Special Committee to help them. Eventually (1949) the neighbouring States stopped their intervention.

Indonesia and the Netherlands. The Netherlands had ruled Indonesia as a colony for a long time before the war of 1939-45. During the war, Japan occupied Indonesia. At the close of the war, Indonesians claimed independence and proclaimed a republic, while the Netherlands tried to re-establish its government there. Fighting broke out. The Netherlands claimed it was a 'domestic' question in which the United Nations had no right to intervene, but the United Nations set up a Committee of Investigation, called on the parties to stop fighting and negotiate,

and appointed a 'Committee of Good Offices'. After intermittent fighting and long negotiations, the Netherlands granted independence to Indonesia (1949).

India and Pakistan. Britain ruled India for many years. During the struggle for Indian independence, the Moslem league insisted that a separate Moslem State should be established. This was agreed to when independence was obtained in 1947 and the country was divided into two States, Pakistan and India. However, some parts of the country had been ruled (under British control) by Indian princes. One of the biggest of these 'princely states' was Kashmir, in the north-west. Most of the inhabitants were Moslems. After fighting broke out in Kashmir, the ruling prince announced that his state would join India, and asked India for help. Indian forces occupied Kashmir but fighting continued by groups who were attacking from outside the state.

In 1948 India complained to the Security Council that Pakistan was aiding the invaders and was committing aggression against India. Pakistan counter-charged that India was occupying Kashmir unlawfully and that Moslems were being slaughtered. The Security Council proposed terms for a cease-fire and truce agreement and suggested that a plebiscite (vote of all the people) should be held to determine the future of Kashmir; Indian forces should remain but no more than were necessary to keep order. The United Nations supervised the cease-fire agreement by means of a United Nations Military Observer Group and tried to bring about a peace settlement through a Commission of Mediation and a Special Representative. The basic issue of Kashmir had not been settled either by agreement between Pakistan and India or by a plebiscite. Fighting broke out between the two countries in 1965, and again the United Nations called for a cease-fire and withdrawal behind the 1949 cease-fire lines. The cease-fire was soon agreed to and a few months later the two countries reached agreement (Tashkent Declaration) to observe the cease-fire, to withdraw troops, not to interfere with each other's internal affairs, to re-establish diplomatic relations and to repatriate prisoners of war.

Korea. Japan ruled Korea from 1910. In 1945 (end of 1939–45 war), the military forces of the United States and the U.S.S.R. were to occupy Korea and receive the surrender of Japanese forces; they agreed that the U.S.S.R. would do this north of the 38th parallel, the United States south of it. A United Nations Commission on Korea was appointed in 1947 to help arrange nation-wide elections and withdrawal of the occupation forces. The U.S.S.R. did not permit the Commission to enter North Korea. Elections were held in South Korea. The 38th parallel became in fact a boundary dividing the country.

In June 1950, North Korean forces invaded the Republic of Korea: this fact was confirmed by United Nations observers. The United Nations declared that the action of North Korea was aggression which endangered general peace and security, called for cessation of hostilities and withdrawal and decided that members of the United Nations should 'furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as should be necessary to repel attack'. It established a Unified Command and asked the United States, which contributed the most troops, to appoint a commander.

In the war the North Koreans occupied most of the Republic of Korea within two months but by October were driven back. The United Nations forces continued into North Korea. In November, armies from the People's Republic of China appeared and the United Nations armies retreated to the Republic of Korea. In July 1951 truce negotiations began. Two years later an armistice agreement was reached.

Cyprus. Cyprus is an island republic near the coast of Turkey, with a population of about 450,000 Greek Cypriots and 100,000 Turkish Cypriots. The United Kingdom ruled Cyprus for many years. There was tension during the 1950s as Greece insisted that Cyprus should become part of Greece, Turkey insisted on protecting the Turkish minority, and the Cypriots demanded independence. An agreement was finally negotiated under which Cyprus became independent in 1960. The Turkish minority was to have some form of self-government. Enmity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots flared into numerous incidents and virtual civil war in 1963. Cyprus and the other interested governments

appealed to the United Nations. With the consent of the Government of Cyprus the United Nations sent a *peace-keeping force* of about 5,000 men, and appointed a mediator; the United Nations also called on all States not to intervene in Cyprus. The peace-keeping force was still in Cyprus in 1972 to prevent a recurrence of fighting between the Greek and Turkish communities. The number of violent incidents had decreased. Negotiations between representatives of the two communities, begun in 1968, were still continuing. The peace-keeping force is made up of contingents from eight Member States and is financed by voluntary contributions.

West Irian. The western part of the world's biggest island, New Guinea, had been ruled by the Netherlands which retained control after Indonesia claimed it. The question was brought to the United Nations by both countries and when no settlement was reached, fighting broke out in 1961. The United Nations appointed a mediator to help the parties negotiate, and they accepted a cease-fire agreement and a plan for settlement. Under this plan the Netherlands turned over control of West Irian for a time to the United Nations, which later transferred control to Indonesia. Later (in 1969), the United Nations sent a Representative to advise and help the Indonesian Government in holding a plebiscite in which the people favoured remaining a part of Indonesia.

Hungary. In 1956 an uprising occurred in Hungary and Soviet military forces intervened. In the Security Council a resolution calling for withdrawal of the Soviet Union forces was vetoed by the U.S.S.R.; the General Assembly then met in an emergency special session and called for an end to Soviet armed intervention, free elections under United Nations auspices, investigations of the situation in Hungary, and aid to refugees. The United Nations investigating team was refused admission to Hungary but interviewed witnesses who had left Hungary. No enforcement action was taken by the United Nations.

Congo. Belgium, in 1960, granted independence to its African

colony, the Congo. Following an army mutiny and widespread violence, Belgium sent in troops; about the same time, one province of the Congo, Katanga, seceded. The Congolese Government asked the United Nations for military aid. The United Nations sent troops, supplied by Member States, to establish order, and civilians to help set up administration and social services. For several months, rivalries and armed conflicts followed among Congolese politicians and soldiers and there were bitter arguments in the United Nations. The Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, died when his aircraft exploded while he was flying to seek a peaceful settlement with Katanga. The number of United Nations troops in the Congo grew to 20,000; they stayed four years, kept order and sometimes had to fight in self-defence. This force was withdrawn in 1964 when the situation was more stable. Although further violent disorders broke out later, political stability was restored. The United Nations has continued to provide many technical experts.

Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia, according to a determination of the United Nations in 1962, has been a non-self-governing territory for which the United Kingdom is responsible. It has a white, mainly British, population of 240,000 and an African population of over 4 million. The British Government agreed that Rhodesia should eventually become independent (like other colonies in Africa) but not until the native African population shared in voting and other rights. In 1965 the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia declared that Rhodesia was independent. The Constitution reserved voting rights to the whites. At the request of African and Asian States, the Security Council had previously discussed this situation. It now voted that 'the situation resulting from the proclamation of independence by the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia . . . constitutes a threat to international peace and security', called on the United Kingdom to 'quell the rebellion' and called on all States to break off trade with Southern Rhodesia, and specifically to place an embargo on oil. Later, the Security Council voted a stronger resolution, deciding 'that all Member States *shall*' cut off trade with Rhodesia. (These are called 'comprehensive mandatory

sanctions': 'sanctions' means penalties, or actions intended to enforce a United Nations decision; 'mandatory' means that all States must carry them out; and 'comprehensive' means that all kinds of trade are included.) Many countries have obeyed this order but trade has continued through Portuguese territories and South Africa. The position is that, according to the unanimous views of the Security Council, 'the régime in Southern Rhodesia is illegal, racist, and without international standing, the United Kingdom continues to have responsibility for the territory and all trade with that régime is illegal'.¹

The Middle East. One of the unresolved problems before the United Nations is the Arab-Israel conflict. For centuries the population of the area concerned had been mostly Arab, though a Jewish minority had continued to live in Palestine. As part of the Turkish Empire at the time of the First World War, the territory was occupied by British forces in 1917. The British Government declared its decision to establish a national homeland for Jews in Palestine; and, after the First World War, the League of Nations entrusted the administration of Palestine to the United Kingdom under a mandate. This arrangement continued up to the end of the Second World War. In 1947, the United Nations accepted a plan to partition Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews. The plan was rejected by the Arabs. The British withdrew in 1948, and the Jewish Council proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel. Since then, there have been three major outbreaks of fighting which have been stopped only when the United Nations intervened. The war in 1948 ended in armistice in 1949 and United Nations observers were stationed there to report on the effectiveness of the armistice. The invasion of Egypt in 1956 by Israel, France and the United Kingdom was halted as a result of a resolution of the General Assembly. The war in June 1967 between Israel and the Arab States of Egypt, Syria and Jordan stopped after they accepted the Security Council's resolution for cease-fire. All efforts of the United Nations to resolve the points of disagreement between Israel and

1. *Objective Justice*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1, New York, United Nations Office of Information, 1969.

its Arab neighbours have so far failed. The continuing discussions on the problem revolve round the resolution of the Security Council, passed on 22 November 1967 which, *inter alia*, reads as follows:

'The Security Council:

1. Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:
 - (i) withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
 - (ii) termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;
2. Affirms further the necessity:
 - (i) for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;
 - (ii) for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
 - (iii) for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones; . . . '

Disarmament

The Charter states:

Article 26. In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

Article 11. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments.

Six weeks after the Charter was adopted at the San Francisco

Conference on 26 June 1945, a new kind of weapon was used for the first time: the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima (6 August). The *first resolution* adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 24 January 1946, established the *Atomic Energy Commission*, which was to insure that atomic energy should be used only for peaceful purposes, and to make proposals 'for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons'. Since then, many committees have met with the purpose of reaching agreement on the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, and of limiting and regulating or getting rid of all other kinds of armaments (which are referred to as 'conventional armaments'). There is now a *Disarmament Commission* (all members of the United Nations) which meets rarely; and a smaller *Disarmament Sub-Committee*, which meets every year. Agreements have been made on several matters, but basically the United Nations has not succeeded in getting nations to agree on eliminating, reducing, or regulating armaments. On the contrary, many nations have increased their armaments and spent more money on them.

In 1970 the nations of the world spent about \$200,000 million a year on their military budgets. Two super-powers, the United States and the U.S.S.R., spent 60-70 per cent of this total. In 1966 when the military defence budgets were about \$160,000 million, all the countries of the world spent about \$110,000 million on public education and \$50,000 million on public health.

A part of the weaponry now consists of nuclear weapons—bombs which can be dropped by aeroplanes, missiles which can be fired from submarines, shells which can be fired by howitzers, warheads which can be 'delivered' by 'ballistic missiles'. The destructive power of the nuclear weapons can be described but can scarcely be imagined. During the Second World War, parts of cities were wiped out by old-fashioned bombs. One night, 1,000 aeroplanes each carrying four 1-ton bombs, destroyed much of the city of Hamburg and killed 70,000 people. The one atom bomb that destroyed Hiroshima had five times this explosive power; 20 kilo-tons. Today a standard type of warhead on a missile has an explosive power of one megaton—a million

tons—fifty times that of the Hiroshima bomb. Some warheads of missiles are ten or twenty megatons. It is estimated that the two super-powers now have the capacity to destroy each other at least ten or fifteen times over.

Some steps towards limitations on nuclear weapons have been taken. A treaty was drawn up in 1963 banning tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. This helped to reduce the danger that tests would liberate destructive radioactive materials but has not been as wholly successful as France and the People's Republic of China did not accept it. The treaty did not prevent the testing of new weapons by the United States and the U.S.S.R., which ratified it; the testing has continued underground. In 1967 also, a treaty was drawn up outlawing the use of nuclear weapons in Latin America. In 1968 a treaty was drawn up to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Under this treaty nuclear powers agree not to transfer nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon States and the latter undertake not to manufacture or acquire them. By mid-1970, fifty-one countries had ratified this treaty.

Steps have been taken also to prevent the nuclear weapons arms race from accompanying man's exploration of space and of ocean depths. No sooner was the first artificial earth satellite launched (*Sputnik*, 1957) than the 'question of the peaceful use of outer space' was placed on the agenda of the United Nations; and a Committee was set up to consider the problems. Later, the General Assembly established these principles, among others: (a) international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, applies to outer space and celestial bodies; (b) outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all States in conformity with international law and are not subject to national appropriation.

With the encouragement and strong urging of the United Nations, the U.S.S.R. and the United States worked on a treaty which was adopted in 1966. The States parties to the treaty agree not to place in orbit or on celestial bodies or on any space station any weapons of mass destruction, not to carry out any military activity on celestial bodies, and to open up their stations and equipment on the moon and other celestial bodies to one another.

Similarly, in 1970, a treaty was drawn up which bans weapons of mass destruction and related installations from the ocean bed beyond a 12-mile coastal limit.

Such treaties as these can be viewed as evidence that the governments of the Great Powers are indeed searching for ways of averting the disaster of nuclear war and that, within the framework of the United Nations, they are able to reach statesman-like agreements on long-range policies to avert possible tragic developments. But stopping the arms race into which they have been drawn has proved much more difficult.

It is generally recognized that it depends on the two super-powers and to some extent on the People's Republic of China, France, and the United Kingdom whether the arms race will be slowed down. In 1969 the United States and the U.S.S.R. began negotiations on the limitation of 'strategic arms'—basically ballistic missiles. The United Nations Secretary-General has said that these are the most important and most decisive negotiations that have taken place on disarmament since the end of the Second World War.

Questions for study and discussion

1. *What are the chief types of disputes and threats to peace which have confronted the United Nations?*

Here is one way of grouping the issues which have been described above:

- (a) Disputes about *independence* of colonies; e.g. Indonesia. Many disputes and threats to peace have been connected with the process of establishing newly independent States, e.g. Israel, the Congo, Cyprus;
- (b) Disputes about *boundaries* and claims to territory; e.g. West Irian, Kashmir, Israel;
- (c) Disputes arising from complaints about *intervention* by one country in the domestic affairs of another; e.g. Hungary, Greece and her neighbours;
- (d) Threats to peace arising from *internal dissension* such as secession and breakdown of government, conflicts among people of different national origin, language; e.g. the Congo, Cyprus;

(e) Threats to peace in the form of *armed attack* by one country on another; e.g. Korea, invasion of Egyptian territory by Israel (1956).

Students might try to make their own classifications of causes and issues; since most cases are quite complicated they may classify them differently. This would be a useful exercise, since it would direct attention to similarities and differences, and help develop some general ideas about the types of situations which are likely to lead to international disputes and threats to peace.

Among other additional 'categories' which have been suggested by writers are: foreign troops stationed in a country; treaty violations; violation of human rights by a majority.

2. *Has the United Nations accomplished something of value in dealing with these disputes? Or What, if anything, of value...?*

Questions in this form seem more likely to lead to thoughtful study than the question '*Has the United Nations succeeded?*' But the teacher should decide on the basis of his own judgement what questions should be raised to launch into some evaluation of the record. It is legitimate, normal, and useful to form over-all general judgements about the success or failure of the United Nations, or any other institution or set of human social arrangements, and to debate and argue about it. But it would be utterly sterile and uneducative to *end* a study of this subject by saying 'Now let us decide whether the United Nations has failed or succeeded in keeping peace and security', as if the United Nations were a pupil to whom we were going to give good or bad marks, or a defendant whom we were going to pronounce innocent or guilty. *Teachers should see to it that arguments about the 'success' of the United Nations turn into study of situations that have occurred, lead on to a little more understanding of the complexities, and reinforce the conviction that we must all keep working at the task of keeping peace among nations.*

Here are some points for students to consider:

(a) Are there cases in which the end result has been about the best possible? For example, in 'independence' questions, did action result in peaceful, orderly changeover to independence, and friendly relations between the countries concerned? Have there been similar results in other kinds of disputes and threatening situations?

(b) Are there cases in which the basic problem has not been

settled but in which actual fighting has either been prevented or quickly stopped?

- (c) Are there cases in which action by the United Nations may have helped prevent other countries from interfering and creating more dangerous situations?
- (d) Are there cases in which the United Nations has decided on the 'terms' of settlement, and these have been accepted; or have not been accepted; or have not so far been accepted?
- (e) Are there cases in which one or more countries have completely refused to do what the United Nations recommended and have carried out their own plans?

3. *Ought the United Nations to compel quarrelling States to settle disputes peacefully and obey the United Nations?*

This question arises commonly from the disappointing discovery that the United Nations recommendations and decisions have been ineffective or have been rejected or ignored. It is felt that the United Nations has been too weak, that it should have been firm and strong. Without prejudicing the rights of students to form their own opinions on the questions involved, teachers should take this opportunity to correct naive, uninformed ideas. Students may have a vague notion that the United Nations is a super-policeman who ought to rush in and break up a fight and haul the guilty off to prison, supported by a judge who hands down impartial verdicts on all the cases brought before him. Crude (or idealistic) notions like this must be replaced by some clearer ideas of what we are talking about: sovereign nation-States, very powerful States, weaker States, national interests, complicated sets of connexions among States, representatives of States in the General Assembly and the Security Council, receiving instructions from their governments. Students need to get some ideas of how governments see these difficult problems that come to the United Nations. *Any* government is bound to consider questions like this: What is this going to do to *us*? What will be the effects of this kind of United Nations action? How will other countries react? How will the people of our country react? What will it lead to?

If students start thinking along these lines, they may come to recognize that *nobody knows* what will be the effects of trying to 'force' or 'compel' countries to obey the United Nations. History—including very recent history—is full of examples of governments making disastrously wrong guesses about the outcome of using force

or going to war against another country. It is easy to see, then, why in any case involving the United Nations, many governments, sometimes perhaps all, will be *very* cautious about taking any action in the direction of 'force' or 'compulsion'. They will try to negotiate and persuade, and keep hoping that some agreement or settlement can be reached.

Students will grasp these ideas more easily if they *act* the parts of governmental representatives at a meeting of the Council or Assembly. They may *either* play the roles of actual countries in some real cases *or* invent an imaginary set of countries. The latter procedure, a true simulation exercise, gives more flexibility, and may lead to as much study of real situations and countries (which serve as models) as the former.

In debates, students should be reminded to think about how their own country may be affected, and the difficulty of foreseeing how things will turn out, as already noted. Other important questions will arise, some of which will now be briefly stated and discussed.

4. *How have coercive measures (economic sanctions, military action) worked out?*

An example of economic sanctions is the case of Rhodesia which is still (mid-1972) continuing. This case does give evidence that it is difficult to make economic sanctions so effective as to succeed in forcing a country to give in. There are many reasons for this: some countries may refuse to join in; some may do it half-heartedly; the country may prove itself able to exist without much of what it imported; and the government may get more support, not less, from its own people. Evidence along the same lines was given by the attempt of the League of Nations to impose economic sanctions on Italy when that country invaded Ethiopia. The question of whether to impose economic sanctions also raises the question of whether the United Nations will be willing to go on and use military force if the economic sanctions do not succeed.

An example of United Nations *military* action against a country is the *Korean* war. (The United Nations use of military forces in 'peace-keeping operations' is quite different and does not apply here; it is discussed below.) The United Nations accomplished its primary objective in Korea: the invasion of the Republic of Korea was repelled and eventually an armistice was arranged. It should also be borne in mind that a number of Member States provided combat units and others supplied medical units. This can be taken

as evidence that in some cases the Organization may be able to act effectively through military measures. On the other hand, the war proved to be long and expensive; one country (the United States) provided most of the forces and directed operations; and some countries (e.g. U.S.S.R.) opposed the United Nations action, although the U.S.S.R. did not 'veto' the Security Council decision,¹ and troops from the People's Republic of China, which was not then a member of the United Nations, intervened against the United Nations forces. Some people think that this experience is evidence more of the dangers of military action by the United Nations than of its possible success.

5. *How has the 'veto power' affected the United Nations power to settle disputes, to stop aggression and war?*

The general rule for voting in the Security Council is: nine 'yes' votes suffice to carry a motion (there are fifteen members). But if one of the five permanent members votes 'no' on any motion, the motion is defeated. The permanent members are China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States. So any one of these can stop the United Nations from using coercive measures by voting 'no'. This power of each of the permanent members is commonly called the 'veto power', although *the phrase is not used in the Charter.*

Many people have argued that the 'veto' is unjust and immoral, that it gives a few Great Powers special privileges, that it is like giving a defendant in a trial the right to forbid punishing him, that it prevents the United Nations from ever enforcing a decision which any one of these powers opposes and therefore makes the United Nations weak and ineffective. They may also argue that the countries have been more inclined to form alliances or depend on the Security Council.

There is an argument to be made on the other side—that the veto power has worked fairly well. To take this view it is not necessary to approve or defend all the vetoes that have been cast. The argument may take such lines as these: it is better to have a United Nations with the 'veto power' than to have *no* United Nations; the Great Powers, or some of them, might not have joined in 1945 without the veto. The arguments for the veto power that prevailed

1. See footnote, page 30.

- (a) That for the United Nations to decide to use military force against the will of one of the Great Powers would really destroy the United Nations, would change it into a military alliance of some members against others.
- (b) That the 'Great Powers'—the permanent members—would have to supply most of the arms and forces in a war to stop aggression; they therefore must have the right to decide such a vital question.

If it is true that use of the veto—or the likelihood of a veto—has slowed down action, this may not have been a bad thing on the whole. The U.S.S.R. has been in a minority in the Security Council very often, and the majority might have been tempted on some occasions to impose its will in such a way that the U.S.S.R. would have felt bound to leave the United Nations. The effect of the veto is to make it impossible for the United Nations to get into military action without the agreement of the Great Powers, and this is good. Without imposing sanctions and using force, the United Nations can do much to influence even great powers, and the *veto does not prevent* this kind of *peaceful pressure*. A country cannot vote in the Security Council on a dispute it is party to, so long as the Council is debating peaceful settlement and not deciding on coercive measures. The veto cannot be used at this stage. Moreover, a great power cannot veto a decision to transfer the question to the General Assembly, which cannot decide to use force but can continue to work for peaceful settlement. Further, it is no use proposing to abolish the veto since this could only be done by amending the Charter, and the amendments would have to be agreed to by all the permanent members (Article 108). Finally, the United Nations with the veto has survived and accomplished a lot, and great wars have not occurred; without the veto, this might not have happened.

6. *Should the United Nations make more use of 'peace-keeping forces'?*

The United Nations has sometimes used some military forces provided by some Member States to help 'keep peace'. Examples are: the Congo, Middle East, Cyprus, Kashmir. Such troops are sent, with the consent of the country where they are stationed, to carry out a very limited job: for example, to observe whether a cease-fire or a truce is being kept, to keep order in a period of near-anarchy, to act as a 'buffer' between opposing forces so as to make outbreaks of fighting less likely. United Nations forces act much

more like a police force than an army. There is nothing in the Charter that says that the United Nations should act in this way; it has come about because it seemed wise in various emergencies. The expense is rather heavy, and not all members have been willing to contribute to the cost. It remains to be seen whether the United Nations members will agree to make more use of 'peace-keeping operations' and pay for them.

7. Representation of China

In 1947-48 a civil war took place in China, with the outcome that the Communist-led forces proclaimed the People's Republic of China and in 1949 established effective control over mainland China. The government which had been in power established itself on the island of Taiwan (Formosa), and many countries continued to recognize it as the legitimate Government of China. The question as to which government should speak and act as 'China' was often discussed at the United Nations. Up to 1971 voting in the General Assembly bearing on this issue had the effect of maintaining the government in Taiwan as the representative of China. On 25 October 1971 the General Assembly voted to recognize the People's Republic as the representative of China in the United Nations.

8. Is the United Nations actually any stronger than the League of Nations which failed?

One purpose of the United Nations is to 'take effective collective measures . . . for the suppression of acts of aggression'. By this standard it can be argued that the United Nations so far has not shown itself stronger than the League of Nations. The Charter provided for greater strength:

- (a) It gave the Security Council power to *decide and to act*, instead of recommending or calling on members to act;
- (b) The Member States promised in the Charter to make special agreements with the Security Council for keeping armed forces available for the United Nations to use;
- (c) The United Nations Military Staff Committee was to advise the Security Council and draw up plans for using armed force.

But the evidence up to date indicates that this part of the Charter has not been put into effect. The one exception was the collective action in Korea; but that was twenty years ago, and the Security Council acted in that case in unusual circumstances—namely, that the U.S.S.R., the permanent member which opposed that action,

was not taking part in the work of the Security Council when the Korean question arose.

9. *Appraisals by Secretaries-General Dag Hammarskjold and U Thant*

One individual who is certainly well-qualified to evaluate the role of the United Nations in maintaining peace and security is the Secretary-General. The following extracts from published statements may be studied and used in discussion of the foregoing questions.

'It is, certainly, a frightening commentary on the ominous state of world affairs that one super-State or the other can become exercised to the point of resorting to military action because of the liberalization of a régime in a small country like Czechoslovakia or because of an internal upheaval in another small State, such as the Dominican Republic. In both cases, the action taken was regarded by those who took it as necessary self-protection without any thought of territorial acquisition. . . .

'It is, however, a dismal outlook for the small and militarily weak States of the world—as the overwhelming majority of States are—if they can hope to control their own affairs only in so far as they do nothing to displease a powerful neighbour.

'It seems to me that now, more than ever, there is need for that will for peace and the matching strength and courage in action which alone can enable governments to exercise the restraint in word, policy and deed necessary to prevent a mounting spiral of fear and danger. . . .

'It is high time for the great military powers to realize that the present superior military force on which they rely so heavily and are prone to use so freely, is in itself a grave and ever-present danger. Used injudiciously, it also saps the most valuable asset of any nation, its moral authority. Instead of maintaining the policy of reliance on their own military power and the unceasing build-up of arms for their national security, they should take those steps which they alone can effectively take to reduce international tension through progressive disarmament in regard to both nuclear and conventional weapons. At the same time, the major powers should realize that it is as much in their interest as it is in the interest of the smaller powers for all Member States to abide faithfully by the provisions of the Charter, and to use the United Nations as their chosen instrument to maintain peace and to achieve a just and stable world order.

'In reality, the two super-powers hold the master-key to peace in the world. Little wars, or wars by little States, can be contained so long as the super-powers do not pose a threat of the big, the nuclear, the ultimate war.'

'In the final analysis, there can be no solid foundation for peace in the world so long as the super-powers insist on taking unilateral military action whenever they claim to see a threat to their security. Why should they also not bring their fears and complaints about threats to their security to the Security Council, as they regularly demand that less powerful States do? In the Cuban missile crisis this course proved helpful, and it could prove equally useful in other cases where big-power interests and peace are both directly involved.'

(U Thant, *Introduction to Annual Report, 1967-68.*)

'Fundamental though the differences splitting our world are, the areas which are not committed in the major conflicts are still considerable. Whether the countries concerned call themselves non-committed, neutral, neutralist or something else, they have all found it not to be in harmony with their role and interests in world politics to tie their policies, in a general sense, to any one of the blocs or to any specific line of action supported by one of the sides in the major conflict. . . . Conflicts arising within the non-committed areas offer opportunities for solutions which avoid an aggravation of big-power differences and can remain uninfluenced by them. There is thus a field within which international conflicts may be faced and solved with such harmony between the power blocs as was anticipated as a condition for Security Council action in San Francisco. Agreement may be achieved because of a mutual interest among the big powers to avoid having a regional or local conflict drawn into the sphere of bloc politics.'

'With its constitution and structure, it is extremely difficult for the United Nations to exercise an influence on problems which are clearly and definitely within the orbit of present-day conflicts between power blocs. If a specific conflict is within that orbit, it can be assumed that the Security Council is rendered inactive, and it may be feared that even positions taken by the General Assembly would follow lines strongly influenced by considerations only indirectly related to the concrete difficulty under consideration. . . .

'This clearly defines the main field of useful activity of the United Nations in its efforts to prevent conflicts or to solve conflicts. Those efforts must aim at keeping newly arising conflicts outside the sphere

of bloc differences. Further, in the case of conflicts on the margin of, or inside, the sphere of bloc differences, the United Nations should seek to bring such conflicts out of this sphere through solutions aiming in the first instance at their strict localization. In doing so, the Organization and its agents have to lay down a policy line, but this will then not be for one party against another, but for the general purpose of avoiding an extension or achieving a reduction of the area into which the bloc conflicts penetrate.

'Experience indicates that the preventive diplomacy, to which the efforts of the United Nations must thus to a large extent be directed, is of special significance in cases where the original conflict may be said either to be the result of, or to imply risks for, the creation of a power vacuum between the main blocs. Preventive action in such cases must in the first place aim at filling the vacuum so that it will not provoke action from any of the major parties, the initiative for which might be taken for preventive purposes but might in turn lead to counter-action from the other side. The ways in which a vacuum can be filled by the United Nations so as to forestall such initiatives differ from case to case, but they have this in common: temporarily, and pending the filling of a vacuum by normal means, the United Nations enters the picture on the basis of its non-commitment to any power bloc, so as to provide to the extent possible a guarantee in relation to all parties against initiatives from others.

'The special need and the special possibilities for what I here call preventive United Nations diplomacy have been demonstrated in several recent cases, such as Suez and Gaza, Lebanon and Jordan, Laos and the Congo.

'A study of the records of the conflicts to which I have just referred shows how it has been possible to use the means and methods of the United Nations for the purposes I have indicated. In all cases, whatever the immediate reason for the United Nations initiative, the Organization has moved so as to forestall developments which might draw the specific conflict, openly or actively, into the sphere of power bloc differences. It has done so by introducing itself into the picture, sometimes with very modest means, sometimes in strength, so as to eliminate a political, economic and social or military vacuum.

'The view expressed here as to the special possibilities and responsibilities of the Organization in situations of a vacuum has reached an unusually clear expression in the case of the Congo.

There, the main argument presented for United Nations intervention was the breakdown of law and order, the rejection of the attempt to maintain order by foreign troops, and the introduction of the United Nations Force so as to create the basis for the withdrawal of the foreign troops and for the forestalling of initiatives to introduce any other foreign troops into the territory with the obvious risks for widening international conflict which would ensue.

'Whether the Congo operation is characterized as a case of preventive diplomacy, or as a move in order to fill a vacuum and to forestall the international risks created by the development of such a vacuum, or as a policy aimed at the localization of a conflict with potentially wide international repercussions, is not essential. Whatever the description, the political reality remains. It is a policy which is justified by the wish of the international community to avoid this important area being split by bloc conflicts. It is policy rendered possible by the fact that both blocs have an interest in avoiding such an extension of the area of conflict because of the threatening consequences, were the localization of the conflicts to fail.'

'Those who look with impatience at present-day efforts by the United Nations to resolve major international problems are inclined to neglect, or to misread, the significance of the efforts which can be made by the United Nations in the field of practical politics in order to guide the international community in a direction of growing stability. They see the incapacity of the United Nations to resolve the major bloc conflicts as an argument against the very form of international co-operation which the Organization represents. In doing so, they forget what the Organization has achieved and can achieve, through its activities regarding conflicts which are initially only on the margin of, or outside, the bloc conflicts, but which, unless solved or localized, might widen the bloc conflicts and seriously aggravate them. Thus the Organization in fact also exercises a most important, though indirect, influence on the conflicts between the power blocs by preventing widening of the geographical and political area covered by these conflicts and by providing for solutions whenever the interests of all parties in a localization of conflict can be mobilized in favour of its efforts.'

(Dag Hammarskjold, *Introduction to Annual Report, 1959-60.*)

'... Peace-keeping, in the sense of the operations thus far conducted by the United Nations, has no relation to enforcement action as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, nor can there ever

be any question of peace-keeping forces being used in such a way as to appear to be occupation forces. The effectiveness of peace-keeping depends above all on the willingness of the parties to a conflict to accept, however grudgingly, a peaceful alternative to violence, even if they have no real will to peace in a solid and enduring sense.

'The voluntary principle pervades all other aspects of peace-keeping. Military personnel are made available voluntarily by governments, which can withdraw them at any time. In practice over the years, there have been surprisingly few instances of such withdrawals, whether for political or other reasons. The men engaged in a peace-keeping operation can carry out their duties only with the voluntary co-operation of the authorities and people of the host country and in some cases of other parties directly concerned. The financing of the only major peace-keeping force still operating, the United Nations Force in Cyprus, is on an entirely voluntary basis, with quite disturbing indications of a tendency towards financing future peace-keeping operations in a similar way. This is indeed a fragile and undependable foundation for operations which are usually vital to international peace and security.

'The lack of progress in the establishment of a more durable framework for peace-keeping operations, with agreed and authorized guidelines and ground rules for setting them up, conducting and financing them, undoubtedly diminishes the confidence with which the United Nations can face the probable conflict situations of the future. It is not to the credit of the United Nations that after nineteen years of peace-keeping efforts each operation has still to be improvised for lack of measures of a general preparatory nature by the appropriate organs. While it seems to be agreed that the United Nations must have some capacity to act effectively in time of danger, it has still not been possible to agree on methods by which that capacity might be increased and made more reliable, especially in the periods between crises. This deficiency stems from the fundamental differences among the Members in their interpretation of the Charter with regard to United Nations activity in behalf of peace.

'In this uncertain situation, the decision of a number of Member States to earmark elements of their armed forces for standby service in United Nations peace-keeping operations is a welcome step. It would be helpful in connexion with such forward-looking action if members could at least agree that the General Assembly would

study such questions as the standardization of training and equipment for standby forces, the relationship of the United Nations to governments providing such forces, and the constitutional and financial aspects of employing them. This could be done either by a committee specially appointed for the purpose or by the Secretary-General himself who would be authorized to carry out the necessary studies. Such a study would give some impetus to the development of the peace-keeping concept and technique and would provide useful practical ideas. The Secretary-General has now gone as far as he can properly go in this direction without specific authorization.

'These are the basic elements of the United Nations peace-keeping problem—its voluntary nature, its inability to operate if any party is determined on violence, and the lack of agreement in the United Nations on the legitimate basis for peace-keeping, present and future. There are other less fundamental difficulties which are sometimes cited—perhaps because the real basic obstacles seem so intractable—as principal causes of the lack of progress or improvement in United Nations peace-keeping. It is often said, for example, that the lack of military staff and the lack of planning in the Secretariat are an important source of weakness. The proponents of this position, who mistakenly equate United Nations peace-keeping operations—which are only semi-military in their functioning—with normal national military operations, never make clear what they would expect even a limited military staff at United Nations Headquarters to do. It is all too obvious that contingency military planning by the Secretariat for specified future operations would be, to put it mildly, politically unacceptable. Apart from anything else, such planning would depend upon the gathering of political intelligence which it would be out of the question for the United Nations to attempt.

'It has also been said that the preparation of all sorts of standing operational procedures would greatly improve the quality of United Nations peace-keeping performance. The fact is that such procedures do exist and have been compiled routinely for each peace-keeping operation. These are used as a basis when a new operation is mounted, but experience has shown that instructions and procedures have to be adapted specifically to each operation since, so far at any rate, the various peace-keeping operations have differed widely in scope, nature, composition and function.

'The Secretariat has at the present time neither the authorization nor the budget to engage in widespread planning, staff work,

recruitment or training activities such as are common to national military establishments; nor, indeed, in present circumstances would such activity have much practical utility. A plan for the training of officers for United Nations peace-keeping duties was elaborated in detail some years ago, but has never been implemented for lack of authorization and financing. In the political circumstances prevailing at the United Nations it is hard to see how a United Nations military staff, even if authorized by the competent organs, could justify its existence and actually improve very much the quality either of existing operations or of hypothetical future ones.

'The hard and frustrating fact remains that the principal obstacles in the way of an improvement in United Nations peace-keeping are primarily political and constitutional, and only secondarily military and financial. The crossroads which we seem to have reached in peace-keeping is marked by a political and constitutional impasse. Member States today have the choice of two main directions. They could, despite all the difficulties, frustrations and disappointments, pursue and develop the possibilities of United Nations peace-keeping as a rational and civilized method of seeking to mitigate conflict while basic solutions are sought. They could, on the other hand, decide that the conditions of the contemporary world are too complex and too violent to allow reasonable and peaceful regulation and that the United Nations has no useful active role at present in helping to keep the peace or in developing a potential for future action of that nature. The latter course seems to me to be unthinkable, for, should it be adopted, the dangers of the present and the risks of the future would surely not be slow in developing to a critical and disastrous stage. Whatever may be the shortcomings of the United Nations and whatever its failures in finding durable solutions or in maintaining peace, its achievements both at the conference table and in the field have already demonstrated the essential worth of the peace-keeping concept.

'The United Nations cannot begin to justify the hopes placed in it unless it is enabled by its members to meet the challenge of the increasingly dangerous situations in many parts of the world by improved methods and new initiatives. It is worth repeating that the pioneering efforts in peace-keeping have not been matched by new and imaginative initiatives in the process of peace-making involving the peaceful settlement of disputes. The capacity of the United Nations to settle disputes or promote constructive and peaceful solutions to disputes is as much in need of study as the

problems of peace-keeping—perhaps even more so. The tendency for peace-keeping operations, originally set up as temporary expedients, to assume a semi-permanent character because no progress is made in settling the basic causes of conflict is a serious reflection on the capacity of the United Nations to settle disputes even when these disputes have been brought to the Organization by the parties directly concerned.'

(U Thant, *Introduction to Annual Report, 1966-67.*)



Human rights

Before asking why promotion of human rights is a world problem, demanding international co-operation, there are prior questions which we should ask ourselves. Do I claim for myself that I be treated as a free human being having human dignity and human rights? Do I recognize the justice of this claim when it is made by others in my community, in my country and in other lands? Do I subscribe to the ethical principle that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights? If the answers to these questions are in the affirmative, then it follows that one would find a defect in a United Nations which did not try to help men and women everywhere, through all the means at its disposal, to realize their aspirations to be treated as human beings, free and equal in dignity and rights.

The ideals of justice, equality and freedom have stirred men to protest and revolt against particular acts and systems of oppression throughout the ages. Prophets and teachers of diverse religious faiths and philosophies have preached the universal brotherhood of man. Gradually progressive societies built safeguards for human rights into their constitutions, legal systems and political and social institutions, at least partially and with varying emphasis on different types of rights. But, in the mid-twentieth century, this fabric of human rights was threatened with destruction by the Axis powers, which imposed on conquered countries totalitarian systems founded on doctrines of racial supremacy and policies of extermination or enslavement for ethnic, cultural and religious groups considered to be inferior. Yet in the minds of the victims and opponents of that aggression

the ancient ideals flamed with new intensity, and it was in this time of struggle and tragedy, and with these ideals as its standards, that the United Nations was born.

In Article 1 of the United Nations Charter we read: 'The Purposes of the United Nations are: . . . (3) To achieve international co-operation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. . . .'

The United Nations General Assembly adopted in 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Eighteen years later the Assembly approved two international Covenants (agreements), one on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the other on Civil and Political Rights. These were stages in the process of writing into international law a United Nations Bill of Human Rights.

The Declaration states basic principles proclaimed by the Assembly as a 'common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society . . . shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition. . . .' The Covenants translate the Declaration into the formal language of an international agreement ('The States Parties to the present Covenant . . . agree upon the following articles . . .') and defines many of the rights in precise terms. When the covenants have been ratified by Member States they will be binding in international law.

Scope and content of the Declaration and the covenants¹

The *Declaration* consists of a preamble and thirty articles, some of which contain only one sentence, none of them more than two or three short paragraphs. In the preamble, the Declaration is proclaimed 'as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations'.

1. The texts of the Declaration and the covenants can be obtained in various languages from United Nations Information Centres.

(a) Articles 1 and 2 declare the fundamental principle that the rights set forth in the Declaration are *universal rights*.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

(b) Articles 3-21 enumerate *civil and political rights*: liberties of free men and women which ought to be protected by law against infringement by the State.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. 1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to the law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. 1. Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. 1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. 1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are

entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. 1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. 1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

(c) *Articles 22-28 deal with economic, social and cultural rights.*

Article 22. Everyone, as member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in

accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. 1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. 1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. 1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development

of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. 1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

(d) *Articles 29 and 30* stress that everyone has duties as well as rights and define the admissible limitations on the exercise of human rights.

Article 29. 1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at

the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

The two covenants deal with virtually the same rights as the Declaration but in a different sequence and with greater legal precision. Both covenants contain a clause which explicitly assures *equal rights for men and women*. Both covenants contain an Article (the first) which declares some rights of 'all peoples', whereas the Declaration speaks of the rights of *individuals*. Some sentences of this Article read:

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination . . .
2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

Implementing the principles of human rights

The United Nations¹ and its sister Agencies have from the outset worked steadily in the ways open to them to realize the principles of human rights. Despite constraints—the United Nations does not pass laws and enforce them, as a government might, and it cannot intervene in matters which 'are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state'—the United Nations family of organizations has done much.

The programmes of assistance to developing countries are very practical expressions of promotion of human rights, for they have no hidden selfish motives. They are intended only to help the people of these countries to progress in the enjoyment of economic and social and cultural rights. Educational activities and studies and publications are another means of action. For example, seminars and conferences are held in various regions

1. The main United Nations organs dealing with problems in this field are: the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

so that representatives of governments and of non-governmental organizations can study problems in implementing various rights. Reports are gathered and discussed by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women on inequalities in respect of the civil and political rights of women, their right to get equal pay for equal work, their educational opportunities and similar matters. Unesco includes human rights as a principal theme in its programme of education for international understanding.

A basic task of the United Nations, of course, is to bring about agreement on principles of law for ensuring the enjoyment of human rights, and acceptance of these codes by States as binding on themselves. The Universal Declaration and the Covenants described above are prime examples. They constitute an International Bill of Rights, which is reinforced by such measures as the Conventions on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, which makes it a crime to destroy a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such; two conventions on the abolition of slavery; and the Convention on the Abolition of Forced Labour.

Prevention of discrimination

In many societies people belonging to one class or group have enjoyed some civil and political rights guaranteed in the constitution and laws while others have been denied these same rights because they belonged to a different class or group; so too, as regards opportunities for education, choice of employment, choice of place to live and other aspects of economic and social and cultural life, many peoples have been treated as inferiors because they were members of a particular class or group. Instances of this are numerous: for example, the right to vote in elections or equal educational opportunities have been denied to women, to members of particular racial groups or religious faiths, to people who spoke a native language other than the official language, to people whose parents had belonged to some particular social class, to people who did not own property, and so on. This kind of unequal treatment is called

discrimination. Discrimination has been defined in United Nations Covenants as including *any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference* based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Although discrimination is commonly directed against a minority group, this is not the case with discrimination against women (who presumably are about equal in numbers to men) nor in the case in which a minority ruling group excludes or restricts members of a much larger group.

In addition to promoting the general extension of human rights, the United Nations has given much attention to the prevention of discrimination. ILO and Unesco have adopted conventions against all forms of discrimination in employment and education, respectively. The United Nations has adopted a Convention on the Political Rights of Women by which countries that ratify it agree that women are entitled to vote and to hold public office on equal terms with men. The United Nations has also adopted a Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women which states that 'discrimination against women is incompatible with human dignity and with the welfare of the family and of society, prevents their participation, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries and is an obstacle to the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity', and is 'fundamentally unjust', and that 'all appropriate measures shall be taken to abolish existing laws, customs, regulations and practices which are discriminatory against women. . . .'

Racial discrimination

Although all forms of discrimination are repugnant to the ethic of human rights, policies of discrimination directed against people because of their race arouse especially widespread and intense revulsion.

The United Nations has been much concerned with racial

discrimination. The Organization was founded at a time when the Nazis were exterminating six million Jews and attempting to justify this policy on the pretext that the Jews were an inferior 'race'. For centuries, the peoples of Asia and Africa endured racist oppression, degradation and violence at the hands of white overlords. The tensions and emotions clustered around racism therefore emerged in United Nations debates on issues of decolonization.

The United Nations involvement in problems of racial discrimination was intensified as South Africa applied the policy of apartheid (see below) ever more stringently. The white rulers of Southern Rhodesia, which was in process of gaining independence peacefully from the United Kingdom, proclaimed independence in 1965 so as to have a free hand to write a constitution ensuring white supremacy. In Africa, moreover, some thirteen million people still live under the rule of Portugal, and others live in Namibia (South-West Africa) under the control of South Africa. Thus, in these parts of Africa, the principles of equal rights and of self-determination continue to be violated flagrantly. These violations, in addition to their inherent inhumanity, constitute a continuing threat to peace on that continent. This, too, has been of great concern to the United Nations.

International Year for Action against Racial Discrimination. One way in which the United Nations works is to focus world-wide public attention on an important theme through a year-long programme of publicity and activities. The Organization selected *Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination* as the theme for 1971. All the United Nations agencies joined a concerted campaign to stimulate participation by governmental and non-governmental organizations, national leaders in all spheres, educators and the mass media. This was a year of education to combat theories, ideas and prejudices which lead to racial discrimination, to promote action such as the ratification of the United Nations Convention against Racial Discrimination, and to review and improve national legislation and administrative practices. It was hoped that in this year the concept of equality

and justice for all, regardless of race and colour, would take on new life in large and small communities everywhere.

International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The United Nations adopted this Convention in 1965. By December 1970, forty-five States had ratified it, more than enough to establish it as a part of international law which the ratifying States accept as binding on themselves. The speed with which this happened indicates the strength of the concern which racial discrimination arouses. The Convention declares (in its preamble) that 'any doctrine of superiority based on racial differentiation is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous, and that there is no justification for racial discrimination, in theory or in practice, anywhere', and that such discrimination is 'an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations'. 'Racial discrimination' is defined as 'any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life'.

Special measures taken for the sole purpose of advancing certain racial or ethnic groups that require protection are not considered discriminatory, provided that they are *transitory*. The States which accept the Convention agree to take all necessary action to prevent or terminate discrimination. They agree not to practise it, or to sponsor or defend or support racial discrimination by any persons or organizations; to see to it that all national and local authorities and public institutions avoid racial discrimination, and to prohibit and end such discrimination by any person, group or organization. They agree to declare that dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred and on incitement to racial discrimination are offences punishable by law, and to declare organizations which do this to be illegal. The Convention gives a comprehensive list of the human rights which are to be guaranteed without racial discrimination. Finally, the States undertake to combat racial prejudice through education.

When a State accepts this Convention, it agrees to report periodically to the United Nations on what it has done to carry out its obligations. It also has the right to inform the United Nations if it considers that another State which has accepted the Convention (called a State Party) is not carrying out its obligations. The United Nations will establish a committee of eighteen experts of high moral standing and acknowledged impartiality to consider these reports and to try to bring about a friendly settlement of any complaint, in accordance with the principles of the Convention. The committee can consider complaints from individuals only if the State concerned has previously agreed to give it authority to do so.

It should be noted again that the United Nations is not a world government and it cannot enforce an international convention such as this in the way that domestic laws are enforced by governments. If a State accepts the obligations and does not carry them out, the remedy must be found within that country. Moral pressure from the international community may, however, stimulate change. But if a State which follows policies of racial discrimination does not accept the Convention, the international community has no means of making it do so. It should also be noted that a failure to ratify the Convention does not necessarily indicate that the country favours racial discrimination; there may be other reasons; for example, constitutional limitations on the powers of the national government or objections to some sections of the Convention may prevent ratification.

Apartheid. The population of South Africa is classified by its government according to terms which are supposed to indicate 'racial' origin. The four principal 'racial groups' are 'Whites', denoting persons of European descent; 'Bantu', denoting black African inhabitants; 'Asians', denoting persons of Asian descent; and 'Coloured', denoting mainly persons of mixed descent. The composition of the population is as follows (1967 mid-year estimates): 'Bantu', 12,750,000; 'White', 3,563,000; 'Coloured', 1,859,000; and 'Asian', 561,000.

This classification is of the utmost importance in the lives of the inhabitants of South Africa, for it decides where they may

live, how they may live, what work they may do, what sort of education they may receive, what political rights—if any—they may enjoy, whom they may marry, the extent of the social, cultural and recreational facilities open to them, and, generally, the extent of their freedom of action and movement.

The Government of South Africa describes its racial policy as a 'four-stream policy' for the parallel development of the four above-mentioned 'racial' groups. It claims that the population of South Africa does not constitute a single nation, but several nations, and that therefore each nation must have its own territory. In this territory, according to the government, each 'racial' group will be helped to develop in its own way and to become self-governing.

These policies are officially named 'apartheid', an Afrikaans word meaning separateness.

Although it is officially claimed that apartheid will benefit the black Africans, the true basic aims were stated by a former prime minister as follows: 'Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: we want to keep South Africa white . . . 'keeping it white' can only mean one thing, namely white domination, not 'leadership', not 'guidance', but 'control', 'supremacy'. If we are agreed it is the desire of the people that the white man should be able to protect himself by retaining white domination . . . we say that it can be achieved by separate development.'

Many laws and regulations have been enacted to put apartheid into effect in all spheres of life and to enforce it. Lands have been set aside as 'reserves' for the Africans in various parts of the country, and these are to be their 'homelands'. Every one of them is supposed to have a 'national home' in a homeland and he can go into the 'white' or European area only as a migratory worker. Within the white area there are 'group' areas reserved for occupation and ownership by members of a single 'racial' group; it is illegal for other persons to occupy land or premises in such an area except by special permit. In fact, the 'homelands' of the African comprise only about 13 per cent of the land, and this the least desirable. For most employed Africans, the 'homeland' is a place where they must leave wife and children

while they work in a white area under contract and with a permit, living in a camp without property and to which they may be exiled if they get into trouble with the law. They cannot stay in an urban area more than seventy-two hours without a work permit. Every African over the age of 16 must obtain a 'reference book' which contains his identity card, photograph, finger prints, a record of his contract of employment and the monthly signature of his employer. If he is ever found without this book he can be arrested. In industry, African workers are limited to unskilled poorly paid occupations, have no trade union rights, cannot engage in collective bargaining, cannot strike. Africans may not use 'white' bus stops, park seats, airport entrances, lavatories, or recreational facilities. There is a separate educational system for each of the four 'races'. Only 'whites' may vote in elections of parliament and serve in parliament. The two main political organizations of Africans have been declared illegal; whites and non-whites cannot attend the same political meetings. Laws are used to crush opposition to apartheid and persons can be detained without limit and with no appeal to a court. Prison conditions for non-whites are inhuman.

The United Nations has repeatedly condemned apartheid, and has tried to persuade the Government of South Africa to reverse this policy. The government declares that this is a domestic matter in which the United Nations has no right to interfere and refuses to co-operate with any United Nations committee that tries to study any aspect of it. On several occasions the General Assembly has recommended, by more than a two-thirds majority, that economic and diplomatic sanctions should be imposed on South Africa, but by 1972 the Security Council had not taken this action.

Education to combat race prejudice. 'Racism' (or 'racialism') and racial prejudice are common phenomena and the terms are understood well enough to be intelligible in everyday talk and in international conferences. But 'racism' is also a complex phenomenon. It is difficult to describe it precisely, difficult to explain how it develops in an individual or takes root in a society, difficult to determine the best ways to educate against

it. The terms 'race' and 'racial' and related terms such as the names of 'races' prove to be ambiguous; and they are charged with emotions, such as pride, hostility, contempt. Used by different people in different contexts, they may reflect quite different ways of classifying human beings, different kinds and degrees of emotional involvement and self-identification with the concepts. Hence the risk that in teaching about race, the attempt to clarify thinking by pressing for more accurate definition of concepts such as 'race' may prove sterile if it does not affect the underlying habits of thought and dispositions.

In one of its aspects racism is a set of beliefs or a doctrine with such elements as these: human beings are divided into races, some of which are (or one of which is) biologically, genetically superior, and this inherited superiority includes capacity for superior cultural, moral and intellectual development and achievement; moreover each member of the race inherits this 'natural' superiority or inferiority.

How does one combat such beliefs or doctrines? So far as they claim scientific or historical support, the indicated approach would be to bring to bear the findings of scientists in the fields of biology, history, anthropology, sociology. Unesco has helped educators to do this. It has published books by recognized authorities in this field, and experts have been brought together by Unesco several times to prepare statements, most recently in 1967, on what is known about race and race prejudice. Among their conclusions :

- (a) All men living today belong to the same species and descend from the same stock.
- (b) The division of the human species into races is partly conventional and partly arbitrary and does not imply any hierarchy whatsoever. Many anthropologists stress the importance of human variation, but believe that racial divisions have limited scientific interest and may even carry the risk of inviting abusive generalization.
- (c) Current biological knowledge does not permit us to impute cultural achievements to differences in genetic potential. Differences in the achievements of different peoples should be attributed solely to their cultural history. The peoples

of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any level of civilization.

The study of evidence which leads experts in biological and social sciences to these conclusions should be part of the educative campaign against racism. The extent to which the characteristics of individuals and of large groups such as 'racial' groups are shaped by the cultural environment, should be shown in every way possible, for the tendency to seek explanations in biological heredity is most tenacious. It is possible that attitudes may be changed by learning that the people of the other race have been consistently treated as inferiors, kept in an inferior economic, social and educational status, and deprived of opportunities to develop much of their potentialities. This knowledge may suggest that it would be fair to give the other race better opportunities. Information about actual achievements of members of the rejected race, past and present, may help.

In teaching young people one should remember that they are still growing, and that their opinions and attitudes are not ineradicably fixed, and that they have a store of humane and generous sentiments, ideals and moral convictions which can be enlisted against their own prejudices. Fellow-feeling with the 'others' may be generated by exercises in imagining oneself in the plight of others, through literature and films, and through constructive personal contacts in school and out, if these can be arranged. To combat racial prejudice does not mean for the educator to combat the children who have been infected with it, but to help them to develop in themselves the countervailing moral dispositions in the presence of which racial prejudice withers away.

*How useful is the work of the United Nations
for human rights?*

It remains the responsibility of the people in each country to take effective action to establish legal protection of human rights, to prevent or end discrimination, to provide progressively larger opportunities for all people to enjoy a reasonable standard of

living and health and to be better educated. The role of the United Nations is primarily to give moral support, to educate, to exercise a constructive influence, to promote widespread international acceptance of common principles, and to induce States to commit themselves in international law to respect human rights.¹

The United Nations is doing this well. Although the educative and legal work is not publicized widely in most countries, it reaches some in positions of leadership and it becomes part of the intellectual climate. Sometimes its influence can be traced directly: René Cassin, a French jurist who has been honoured with the Nobel Peace Prize, states that sixty States which have become independent since 1948 have included parts of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in their constitutions. Provisions of international covenants become part of national law in countries which have ratified them. Proponents of legislation for human rights and against discrimination may support their case by referring to international standards and use a United Nations code as a model. Non-governmental organizations of many kinds disseminate information about this work, as do some educators.

To get agreement on the texts of the Declaration and covenants has not been easy. Many well-informed people thought it would be impossible because of the great difference among value systems of different cultures and among legal systems, and because of the reluctance of governments to accept international standards. But patient interchange in repeated detailed discussions has bridged the differences. An international community of nations needs to develop a body of international ethics, and the work for human rights is progressing in that direction.

1. The United Nations deals with a number of other matters in this field which could not be covered in this short chapter, for example: the question of refugees and stateless persons, the question of freedom of information, the question of the rights of the child, the question of respect for human rights in armed conflicts, the question of human rights and scientific and technological developments, the question of the punishment of war criminals and of persons who have committed crimes against humanity, etc.

Questions for study and discussion

Commonly mentioned difficulties in the way of studying human rights are: it risks being dry and abstract; it requires knowledge of difficult technical matters such as national and international law; it raises controversial social and political questions. In addition, there are the usual pervasive difficulties: it is not in the curriculum; there are no textbooks; the teachers are not prepared; and there is no time. Still, teachers who think it is really important to teach about human rights can usually find a way to introduce the subject. Schools all over the world have in fact found many ways to do so, as has been reported in publications of the United Nations and Unesco. Here are a few ideas and questions, some for teachers, some for pupils, some for both to ponder.

1. Do your courses of study dealing with civic and moral education contain materials on rights and duties of citizens or rights and duties of human beings? Do they refer, or can you refer, to sections of the Declaration and Covenants?
2. Do your constitution and laws guarantee any rights? What rights? Do your pupils learn about this? Do they learn that many other countries guarantee these rights, and that they have made a United Nations agreement about them?
3. Does the history taught in your schools tell about people who have fought in one way or another to extend or defend freedoms and opportunities for all the people, or some oppressed people?
4. Does everyone in your community get a fair chance to get an education, earn a living, get good health care? What is a fair chance? Should everyone have it? How is it provided—or how can it be provided?
5. Should women be paid the same as men if they do the same work?
6. Should rewards and punishments in your school be fair? What is 'fair'?
7. Has your country ratified the various conventions against discrimination? If not, why not?

This small sample of questions may serve to illustrate the idea that we have to build bridges or fashion a web of connexions between commonplace daily experience relating to human rights and the unfamiliar adult world, between naïve ideas and complex abstract principles, between the local or national problems and foreign or international problems, between the past and the present, between the codes of conduct we have internalized in a small social group and generalized codes of national and international law.

Social justice for workers

Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration.

Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions.

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitations of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Peace can be established only if it is based on social justice.

Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere.

Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

Giving workers a voice

Those people who are going to be greatly affected by decisions should have some voice in making such decisions. 'Participation' is an idea which is seriously discussed these days. The idea is basic to political democracy.

Employees, of course, are deeply affected by decisions about wages and working conditions, and by many decisions the owners and managers make about the business. Labour unions (trade unions) were organized to give workers a voice in deciding wages and working conditions, and today they also often collaborate with public authorities in the consideration and implementation of economic and social policies. In many countries, workers'

representatives take part in various 'decision-making' actions of management, though this is still a controversial matter in some countries.

In the United Nations family, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has the special job of protecting and promoting the rights of workers. The phrase 'rights of working men' should be avoided since working women should have the same rights.

Four organizations in the United Nations family are older than the United Nations itself. One of these is ILO.¹ It started right after the end of the First World War and its Constitution was included in the Peace Treaty of Versailles which also set up the League of Nations. It was kept going even during the Second World War.

What ILO does

1. It gives workers and employers a voice in decisions.
2. It sets standards internationally for countries to live up to.
3. It sends expert advisers and gives other help (technical co-operation) to member countries.
4. It undertakes studies and research in the field of social policy.
5. It circulates information and ideas.

ILO differs from all other intergovernmental organizations in that workers' representatives participate in its top governing bodies, as do representatives of employers. When the annual conference takes place, each national delegation includes two government delegates; one employers' delegate, and one workers' delegate. The smaller Governing Body has twenty-four government members, twelve employers' members, and twelve workers' members. The workers' and employers' delegates have votes and can vote differently from the government delegates if they want

1. The others: the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), established in 1865 as the International Telegraphic Union; Universal Postal Union (UPU) which goes back to 1875; and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which is just 12 days older than the United Nations.

to. As might be expected, ILO gives a good deal of attention to the rights of workers in labour-management relations and has promoted freedom to organize, recognition of trade unions, the protection of workers against dismissal without good reason, and increased consultations and co-operation between workers and employers.

International Labour Code. ILO influences national policies, legislation and practice by drawing up *international labour standards*. These standards are adopted by the Conference of ILO, after detailed study of existing laws and practice and thorough discussion.

The standards may be embodied in a *Convention* or a *Recommendation*. Conventions are treaties intended for ratification by Member States—Involving the obligation to ensure their implementation. Recommendations are not open to ratification, but provide guidance to national action.

From 1919 to 1971, ILO has adopted 136 Conventions and 144 Recommendations. Some relate to basic human rights, such as freedom of association and the right to organize, the abolition of forced labour, and the elimination of discrimination in employment on grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin. Others seek to regulate hours of work, weekly rest, holidays with pay, and the employment of women and young persons; to lay down safety standards (for example, in building work, dock work, or in connexion with radiation hazards); to give content to the right to social security by defining the kind of protection to be provided (pensions, medical care, family allowances, etc.), the persons to be protected and the level of benefits; to regulate conditions of seafarers; to provide for systems of labour inspection, employment services, and so on.

Many of these conventions are in force in the greater part of the world. Thus, by 1971, the Forced Labour Convention (1930), had been ratified by 105 States, the Freedom of Association Convention by 77 States, the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention by 76 States, and the Labour Inspection Convention by 75 States.

Countries which ratify a Convention must regularly report to ILO on the steps taken to apply its provisions. These reports are examined in turn by a committee of independent experts and by a special committee of the conference in which the representatives of governments, workers and employers can together discuss any difficulties met in implementing ILO standards and how to overcome them. Every year, there are many cases (seventy to eighty, on average) in which improvements are made in national law and practice as a result of comments from these ILO supervisory bodies. Additional procedures exist for the examination of complaints, particularly in the case of allegations of violation of trade union rights.

Even in the absence of ratification, ILO standards can be very influential. Workers who are pressing for some improvement in conditions have a strong argument if they can say: 'This is the minimum standard which the ILO advocates'. Conventions and recommendations can be of help in drafting laws and in setting up labour administration services or social security schemes. They provide a policy basis for the ILO's practical activities. Thus, the Employment Policy Convention and Recommendation, adopted in 1964, set the basic objectives and furnished guidelines of action for the ILO's World Employment Programme.

Industrial activities. The world's major industries—such as mining, metallurgy, engineering, construction, textiles, chemicals, shipping and other forms of transport—have many broad characteristics in common, and the persons engaged in them share a number of problems. But a closer look at the various industries shows that they also each have their own special problems, or, to put it in another way, that the broad industrial problems often take special forms in each industry. An obvious case is occupational safety and health, but it is also true, for example, of some of the social aspects of change in industry—problems of redundancy, retraining, job satisfaction, and so on.

ILO has found that many of these questions can best be tackled on an industry-by-industry basis within the framework of its programme of industrial activities. One of the key elements in this programme is the system of standing Industrial Com-

mittees. Each of these Committees meets from time to time to take stock of the over-all situation in the industry concerned, as regards its social and labour aspects, and to exchange ideas on urgent or acute problems specific to the industry. The sessions are attended by delegations from the twenty-five to thirty countries with a major interest in the particular industry. The Industrial Committees provide a lively illustration of the tripartite principle in operation, for each member country sends two government delegates, two workers' delegates and two employers' delegates—persons with direct and continuing experience of day-to-day realities in the various industries.

In addition to giving representatives of the major industries in the various countries an opportunity to learn from one another and to formulate guidelines for use at the national level, the Industrial Committees provide the ILO with advice as regards the problems that should be covered by its programme of industrial activities and the most suitable way of dealing with these problems: by research and fact finding; by the publication of model codes of practice, manuals and so forth; by the holding of meetings of experts, seminars and the like, or tripartite meetings devoted to the problems of a given industry in a particular region of the world; by technical co-operation projects in the field; or by the adoption of international instruments of the kind mentioned earlier in this chapter. In this way the ILO's activities are guided and kept under surveillance by the workers, managements and government authorities with a direct knowledge of, and interest in, the various sectors of industry.

Technical co-operation. To help promote national economic and social development, more than a thousand ILO experts are advising developing countries in such fields as vocational training, management development, promotion of small enterprises and co-operatives, rural development, manpower planning, social security, occupational safety and health, labour administration and inspection, industrial relations and workers' education. In the 1960s, the United Nations Development Programme provided over 130 million dollars for more than 150 major projects throughout the world carried out by ILO.

One of the main challenges posed by the rapid growth of the world's population is that of providing enough jobs to keep pace with the expanding labour force and especially with the rising tide of young people entering working life. To help meet this challenge, ILO launched in 1969 the *World Employment Programme*. Experts provided by ILO and sister agencies assist developing countries in drawing up national blueprints for rural development and industrialization, for increased trade and investment, and for youth training and employment programmes.

The following story does not describe one of the ILO's large-scale schemes, such as national industrial training programmes or productivity centres. It is rather about a small project, but it brings out the human factor in ILO activities.

Edgar Marland was not really an umbrella man when ILO sent him to Ethiopia in 1964. He did not make or sell umbrellas and, in fact, he never even carried one. He was a specialist in vocational rehabilitation, that is, training the disabled to do a productive job. Ethiopia asked for help in its work of assisting the physically handicapped—the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the people who usually have less chance to earn a living.

Mr Marland said: 'Why not train the disabled to work—and provide them with work? Why not start an umbrella factory?'

Why umbrellas? They were relatively easy to assemble, domestic demand was large and Ethiopia was spending precious foreign currency to import them. And it would need a fairly small capital and limited training equipment to start.

A company was set up—the United Abilities Company. A Japanese expert came. The Japanese Government gave a grant to train a technical assistant in umbrella-making in Japan. That man was the only able-bodied man engaged. A factory was opened with twenty-seven disabled workers in a simple temporary building. Importing all components, the factory was soon turning out many types of umbrellas and parasols, from cheap models to keep out the rainy season downpours to ornately colourful parasols traditionally used by Ethiopian Church dignitaries on ceremonial occasions. The Emperor himself chose the brand name—Giraffe.

The government helped by putting a protective tariff on imported umbrellas, and business boomed. More disabled were taken on, a marketing system set up, all the machinery of commerce established. Each year the profits were ploughed back.

Six years later the United Abilities Company moved to a modern, specially designed plant, in Addis Ababa, paid for from earnings. The original labour force of twenty-seven had swelled to 250, over half of them earning double the going rate for unskilled labour in the capital, others much more again. Disabled workers are now heading departments, including accounts and personnel. Many are helped to a better education through evening classes or correspondence courses. Medical and canteen services are provided and plans are drafted to assist employees in every aspect of their social problems.

From being dependent on society the workers of the United Abilities Company are supporting 800 family members—and paying income tax too. Forty-year-old Miss Tebka Kassa, for example, who lost both her legs and was a street beggar, now maintains three dependants from her wage packet. Others have found their prospects so improved that they have married and started families—a far cry from their past life 'on welfare' or on the streets.

The Umbrella Man has long since left to do other ILO jobs in other countries. But when the new factory was opened he was invited back as the honoured guest.

Questions for study and discussion

1. How many rights are mentioned in the quotations given at the beginning of the chapter? Is there any disagreement as to what each means? What would be an example of the *denial* of each right? Have any of these rights been talked about recently in your community, your country? How can international co-operation improve the conditions of workers and promote social justice?
2. What advantages are there in associating workers and employers in the drawing up and implementation of ILO standards?

3. Should delegates who do not represent governments take part in running any other agencies of the United Nations family as well as ILO?
4. Mr Marland, referring to the project described at the end of the chapter stated: 'Our approach in Ethiopia was to pull the "welfare cushion" out from under and help the disabled to stand on their own feet. The psychological effect of this was tremendous. We were able to demonstrate that the best rehabilitation measure is that which enables the disabled to regain their personal dignity along with their economic independence.' What is done in your community along the same lines as this project?

Ending colonialism

Two distinct meanings are attached to the word 'colony'. It is sometimes used for a group of aliens settled within one country but owing allegiance to its country of origin. It is in this sense that until recently Chinese settlers in Indonesia or French settlers in Algeria were described. More frequently, however, 'colony' refers to a territory occupied by another country to exercise political, economic, and cultural domination. This relationship produces the system of colonialism or imperialism.

History is a dismal record of conquests of weak people by strong people, and the urge to dominate others for glory and profit is as old as civilization. Soldiers and politicians, merchants and missionaries, have joined hands all over the world in different ages to subjugate other lands, to demonstrate the superiority of their beliefs, to exploit them for financial gain.

The colonial system, in its modern version, is the result of Europe's impact on other continents since the discovery of the Americas at the end of the fifteenth century up to the beginning of the twentieth century when the phenomenon reached its peak. This long era can be divided in three periods when vast empires were created and two world wars were fought largely to divide colonial spoils. Roughly, between A.D. 1500 and A.D. 1850, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain and Portugal carved out empires in the Americas and Asia. Then onwards, up to the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States, Italy, Russia and Germany joined the race for exploitation of Asia and Africa. Their rivalries provoked the First World War, which dealt a heavy blow to the imperialist structure. It could

then be predicted that the self-inflicted wounds of Western countries would soon put an end to the colonial process. Although the Japanese attack on China in 1931 and the policies of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy created grave fears of a revival of colonialism in its worst form, these dangers were finally over after the Second World War and the end of the scourge of colonialism was in sight.

The liquidation of the colonial system has passed through various phases and proves the contention of the philosopher Hegel that every thesis produces its own antithesis. The American continent, in its entirety, was the first to be occupied by the European nations and was the first to gain independence between the last decades of the eighteenth and the first few decades of the nineteenth centuries. The colonies in Asia and Africa had to wait until the end of the Second World War to gain freedom, either as a result of the voluntary withdrawal of the imperialist power or as a result of wars of national liberation. One of the most significant developments of the post-war world is their emergence as independent nations. It has given a new dimension and a new direction to human history.

Almost all these countries are economically underdeveloped. They have a long way to go to catch up with the developed countries which ruled over them. How the United Nations is helping them to solve problems of economic and social development has been narrated in other chapters of this book; what has been done, and is being done, by the United Nations to make them masters of their political destiny is discussed below.

Within living memory, the international community was divided between independent and dependent nations. By and large, that political division has disappeared and, with some exceptions, nations are now free, whether old or new, developed or developing, to shape their own future. The United Nations has played an important part in bringing about this historical change and is still trying to obtain freedom for the people who remain under colonial bondage. The part played by the United Nations in ending colonialism, or achieving 'decolonization', flows from its own Charter, which proclaims the equal rights of all peoples, including the right of self-determination. Nations

have to be masters of their own territories to bring about economic and social progress to serve the cause of human development.

The right of self-determination for dependent nations was first asserted and accepted by the international community in the forum of the League of Nations after the First World War. It is true that, in actual practice, it remained a hollow slogan until the Second World War. But the very acceptance of this right is a milestone in human progress and has served as a beacon light for those who have fought against colonial rule.

The torch was carried forward by the United Nations in more auspicious circumstances when the age-old colonial legacy was written off the face of the earth. And, in the few cases where it survives, as in parts of Africa, colonialism is against the trend of history and faces world-wide condemnation.

The United Nations policy of 'decolonization' is summed up in its Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was adopted by the General Assembly without a dissenting vote in December 1960.

The General Assembly declared that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;
2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development;
3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence;
4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected;
5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinc-

tion as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom;

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

International trusteeship system

Under the terms of its Charter, the United Nations established a system for the administration and supervision of certain territories placed under its trust. These were called Trust Territories and their administration is supervised by the Trusteeship Council. This system applies to: (a) territories originally held under mandates established by the League of Nations after the First World War; (b) territories voluntarily placed under trust by States responsible for their administration.

Altogether eleven territories were placed under the Trusteeship system, of which nine have become independent or part of independent States.

Non-self-governing territories

It is estimated that 28 million people in 45 territories did not enjoy self-rule in 1970. As many as 40 of these territories present peculiar difficulties owing to their small size, paucity of human and natural resources, and in some cases their geographical isolation. The General Assembly has, time and again, reaffirmed the right of the peoples of all these territories to self-determination and independence. Differences of opinion persist between the competent United Nations organs and the

administering countries concerned regarding the measures for delegation of self-government in each case.

But, in the words of Secretary-General U Thant, 'the most conspicuous violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms' takes place in a group of five territories in southern Africa. They remain under the control of white minority régimes which continue to resist the process of decolonization. These minority governments ignore the demands of the African majorities for human equality and self-determination and flout the United Nations and world opinion. The territories are: Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa (Namibia), and the Portuguese-controlled lands of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (called Portuguese Guinea).

The General Assembly has appointed a special committee of 24 members to review the situation regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence in non-self-governing territories. This committee has submitted to the General Assembly reports on the activities of foreign economic interests which impede independence, particularly in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the three above-named African lands under Portuguese control. The General Assembly, on its part, has adopted a resolution declaring that any administering power, by depriving the colonial peoples of the exercise of their rights, violates the Charter of the United Nations. But, as already pointed out, the controlling white minority interests do not pay any heed to such remonstrances or their own obligations to the international community.

The case of Namibia. How the intransigence of a single country can violate world order is illustrated by the situation of South-West Africa. It is called Namibia in international parlance, because it encompasses the Namib desert.

It was a German colony until the outbreak of the First World War, when it was occupied by South African forces. In 1920, the League of Nations conferred the mandate for the territory upon His Britannic Majesty, to be exercised on his behalf by the Union of South Africa.

The situation remained unchanged until the Second World

War. In the meantime, the South African Government pursued its policy of racial and tribal segregation against the overwhelming majority of African inhabitants. The larger part of the land, including the most productive farmland and mineral resources, is for settlement by whites only. Africans are barred from political activity and they cannot change their residence without permission. It is the same policy of apartheid which prevails in South Africa.

Since its inception, the United Nations has patiently and persistently sought to persuade South Africa to bring Namibia into the Trusteeship system and to fulfil its mandatory obligations towards the people of the territory. But South Africa has spurned world opinion and flatly refuses to release its hold over Namibia, where mineral wealth of great value has been discovered and is being exploited.

By 1966, the patience of the General Assembly was exhausted and it took an historic decision. It terminated the mandate and declared that Namibia was henceforth under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. But the Government of South Africa was not moved and claimed that the United Nations had no right to terminate its right to administer the territory.

The General Assembly, on its part, appointed a council of eleven members to establish contacts with the South African authorities 'to lay down procedures for transfer of control' and 'to do all in its power to enable independence to be attained by June 1968'.

South Africa withheld facilities from the members of the council to enter the occupied territory. The council has expressed the conviction that South Africa will not withdraw unless 'forceful measures' are taken. A liberation movement has already started in the adjoining Portuguese territories.

In 1969 the Security Council adopted a resolution calling on South Africa to withdraw immediately from the territory, failing which 'necessary steps or measures in accordance with the Charter' will be taken. This warning also has fallen on deaf ears.

The latest development in this case was a reference from the Security Council to the International Court of Justice at The Hague to seek its advice on the legal title of South Africa. The

advice of the Court, as announced in June 1971, was: 'The continued presence of South Africa being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the territory'.

Questions for study and discussion

1. How would you define 'colonization'? How does it harm the colonized countries and benefit the colonial rulers?
2. Can you find out the names of the territories held under mandates after the First World War and also the names of the mandatory powers?
3. Locate on an up-to-date map some of the countries which are still colonized.
4. Many formerly colonized countries still make use of the language of their colonial rulers. Why?

Raising standards of living: the problem of development

Some characteristics of developing countries

The phrase 'less developed' or 'developing countries' refers to about one hundred nations which are poor in money income. They include all Central and South America, Africa (except South Africa), Asia (except Japan and the Asian republics of the U.S.S.R.) and lands in the Pacific Ocean (except Australia and New Zealand).

Developing countries, containing *more than two-thirds of the world's population*, account for only:

Fourteen per cent of the world gross national product,

Seven per cent of world industrial production,

Thirty-five per cent of world food production.

Average *per capita* income in developing countries ranges from less than \$100 per year to about \$600, but the most typical is about \$100.

Population increases in the developing world keep pace with progress in health, food production, employment, and education.

More than half of the world's adult population is illiterate and this percentage is increasing. Of the world's school-age children, less than half attend school.

Twenty per cent of the economically active male population of developing countries is unemployed, and a much higher percentage underemployed. The developing countries lag far behind in school attendance, universities, trained scientists, and engineers, doctors, nurses, hospitals, electrical power, roads, sanitation, water supplies, sewerage, libraries, book production . . . all

aspects of social and economic development. A few have one resource—oil—that brings in a large income from overseas.

Developing countries differ from one another in many ways. Low-income countries include India with 530 million people, the Republic of Korea with 30 million, Costa Rica with 1.5 million, and Gabon with 500,000. India has seventeen states, the largest having a bigger population than any European country's; Gabon has fewer people than a single borough of London.

Large countries have large markets; small countries have limited markets together with a shortage of skills and weak bargaining power.

Population is growing rapidly in most of the developing countries, but there are great differences between the social and economic problems in a country like Bangladesh where there are 1,200 people per square mile and a country like Brazil where there are 26. Where new lands can be opened up, at whatever cost, the psychology is not the same as where fixed amounts of land are subdivided into tiny parcels.

The political and economic systems of the developing countries also differ greatly. Private ownership and enterprise are relied upon heavily in some economies, public ownership and management in others. For the most part, economic systems lie somewhere in between except as regards public utilities and heavy industries, which are usually owned by the State.

The diversity among value systems in low-income countries is at least as great as in the industrialized world. Some societies have no choice but to devote much of their energies to composing differences among their population groups. Moreover, neither the acquisition of wealth nor regimentation by the machine are universally admired or accepted.

There are also great variations in income level and economic potential. Argentina has an income of more than \$780 per head, India has about \$90 and several countries less than \$60. In some countries, most of the people live on the brink of subsistence, while in others the minimum amenities are, or can be, assured.

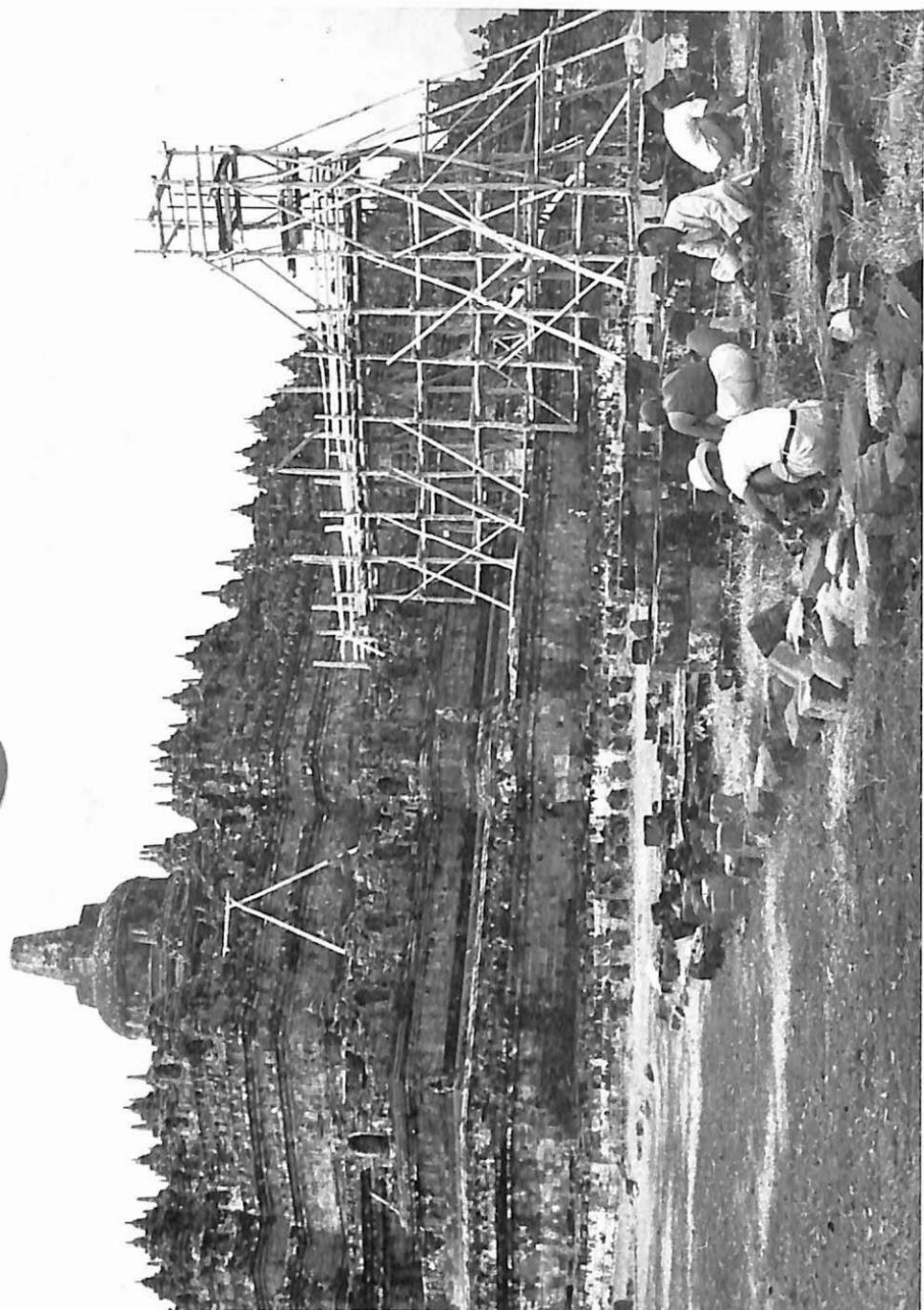
There are similarly vast differences in economic resources. There are many economies which place heavy reliance on foreign trade, but also a few, like India, which depend on it only to a



PROTECTING THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT A boat criss-crosses the Golden Horn in Istanbul to check the drift of submarine sewerage outfall. World-wide concern for preservation

and enhancement of the human environment is reflected in many activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

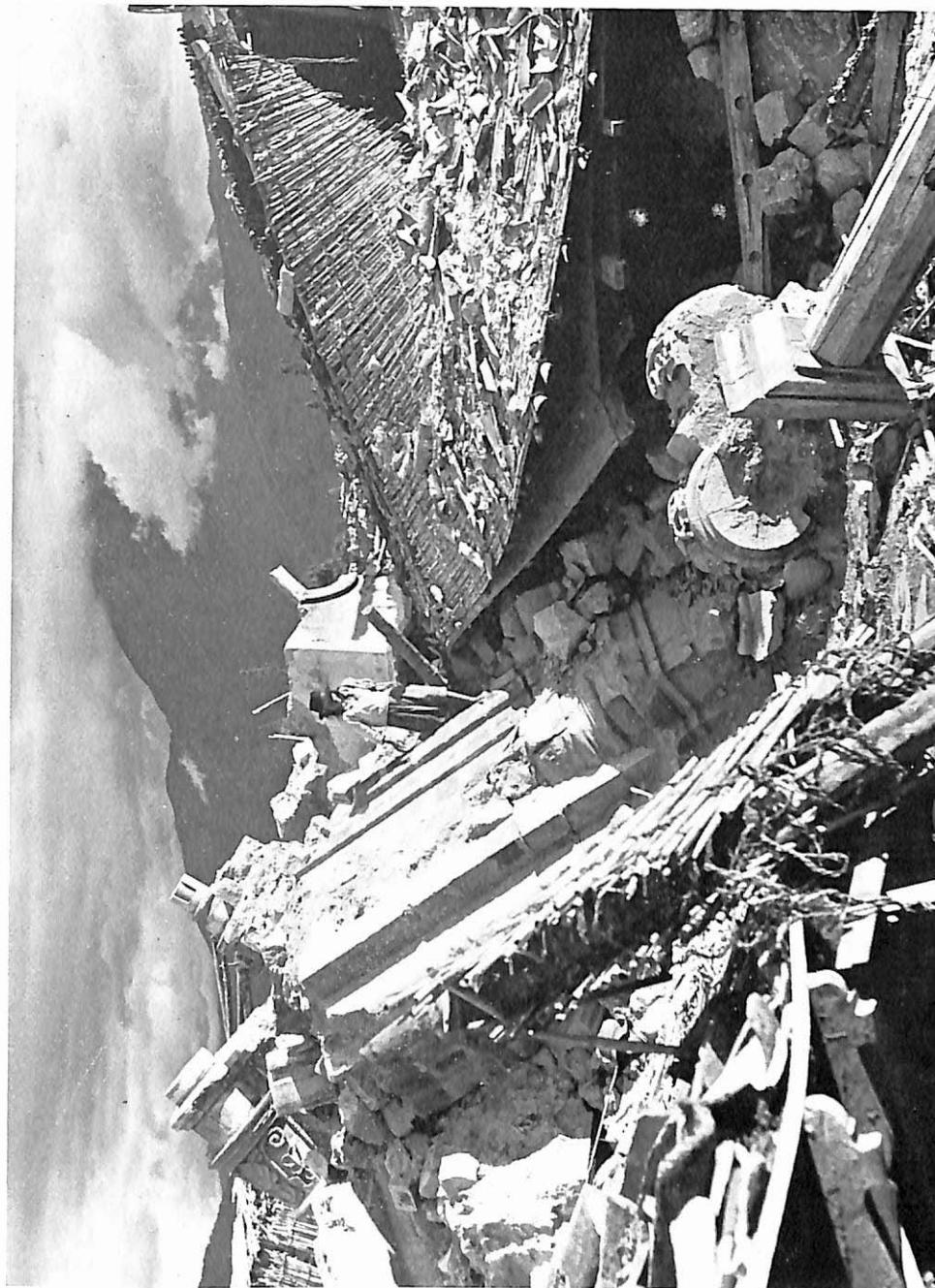
(WHO photo by J. Breitenbach.)



PRESERVING MAN'S
CULTURAL HERITAGE

Unesco has undertaken to mobilize international assistance to save the great temple of Borobudur in Central Java, Indonesia (above), from

crumbling in decay. Unesco has also spearheaded international campaigns to rescue ancient monuments of Nubia and to preserve the city of Venice. (Photo Unesco / Mireille Vautier.)



EARTHQUAKE DISASTER
The United Nations Economic and Social Council provided doctors, nurses and emergency supplies for this Andean plateau area where an earthquake brought death and destruction to fifty-three towns.

Science cannot prevent earthquakes or typhoons, but it can forecast *where* and provide some degree of indication *when*. Unesco is concerned with training earthquake engineers and seismologists and gathering data. (*United Nations photo.*)



HELP FOR A WAR-TORN LAND In the wake of civil war, Nigerian children were aided by a Unicef programme carried out in co-operation with ministries, the Nigerian Red Cross and United Nations Agencies. (Unicef photo by Babs Yahaya and H. Godicke.)

PLAYTIMES Boys and girls join their teacher in games at the Sesquile Home near Bogota. Emphasis is placed on comprehensive care. This pilot project of the Colombian Government is assisted by Unicef. (Unicef photo by Ilsa Kraus.)

small extent. Such countries as Zambia and Venezuela have large mineral industries; a few such as Hong Kong and Mexico have other substantial industries; but the great majority are overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture.

Economic potential is, of course, difficult to assess accurately; discoveries of oil reserves, gas fields, or new uses for old metals continue to prove earlier forecasts fallacious. Still, given our present knowledge, some countries, like Turkey, are well endowed with raw materials and a temperate climate. Others, like Chad, are not. India has all the physical resources of a great power; some countries seem hardly to have the basic requisites for national survival. Thus, possibilities for development are vastly different from country to country.

National objectives are determined partly by past experiences and by cultural and political history, as currently interpreted.

In some countries the role of governments is pervasive, in others minimal. Some inherit extensive infrastructure and administrative skills. Their political system may be unstable or mature. They may have a tradition of thrift and industriousness, or they may still need to build these traits.

Despite this diversity, a common purpose emerges in nearly every country; to reduce poverty, to ensure adequate levels of education, health, and housing, and food for every citizen; to increase control over nature by the nation and the individual; to broaden the opportunity for choice.

How do poor countries develop?

Basically, the people of the country use their own natural resources and themselves—the human resources—more efficiently so as to produce more goods. They learn more efficient techniques. They divide work to be done more efficiently, they specialize, they buy and sell goods and services from one to another. Some of them save and lend their savings. Some borrowers may use their loans to keep themselves alive while they are unable to work or while they are waiting for crops to grow; some may squander the loan. But some will borrow so

as to pay for new machinery and equipment and to pay workmen while they are building a new factory, and to train workers for new jobs. Eventually they manufacture large quantities of new articles. They construct new sources of power; they apply power and machines in all areas of production.

Not even the richest and most advanced countries have developed in isolation. They have all learned new techniques from other people, all have exported and imported; all have needed funds in the form of loans and investments from other countries. So, too, the developing countries need investments from wealthier countries. They need to obtain all manner of goods, they need help from well-trained people in many kinds of work, and they need to get their own people trained.

They cannot go far in *industrialization* without large investments—someone must put up the money to buy all the materials, to pay all the workers during the months and years of construction, and most of it has to come from abroad.

Will foreign bankers and business corporations invest in a poor developing country? Yes, if they believe there is a good likelihood that the loan or investment will be repaid and that they will get interests and dividends; in other words, if *all the conditions exist* which make it very likely that a particular project will succeed and be efficient and pay for itself and make a profit. But these very conditions are often lacking in a less developed country. They do not have the electric power where it is needed, or the trained management experts or enough of the right kind of engineers or roads in the right places, or enough workmen who understand the machines—or the machines which they must get from abroad but cannot pay for because the country is not yet selling enough products abroad to get the foreign money (foreign exchange). There is a *gap* to be filled—between what the conditions are now, economically, and what they must be in the future in order to ensure plenty of local capital for investment and offer attractions to foreign leaders and investors.

How can the gap be bridged?

Many countries have special relationships with some much poorer countries (in some cases, former colonies) which they help by making loans at low rates of interest and by 'aid' programmes of all kinds. These are 'bilateral' programmes, between two countries. The help given in bilateral programmes is much more than the United Nations can provide. But the United Nations 'family' has been taking a larger part in helping development programmes in recent years. The idea has been taking hold that the more prosperous countries share responsibility and should do much more co-operatively through the United Nations.

Many of the United Nations agencies help, especially in training manpower and giving expert advice. The task of providing some indispensable funds for speeding up development belongs especially to the World Bank and International Development Association (IDA) and, in a unique way, to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Targets for economic growth

The United Nations decided about 1960 to give a high priority to economic development. The General Assembly proclaimed that the ten-year period of the 1960s should be designated as 'United Nations Development Decade', and called for action to lessen the gap between developing countries and fully modernized nations. The fact that many extremely poor countries in Africa had just become independent emphasized the need for vigorous co-operative action. The Assembly proposed a 'target'—that developing countries should attain a minimum *annual growth rate* of 5 per cent by 1970, and it called on Member States to adopt policies to help in achieving this goal. A Second Development Decade is now under way.

World problems in the classroom

TABLE 1

Growth in Gross National Product
and level of *per capita* income
in 68 countries

Per capita income (1967)	GNP growth rate, annual average (1960-67)				
	Above 6 %	5-6 %	4-5 %	3-4 %	Below 3 %
Under \$100	Guinea Malawi Pakistan	Ethiopia Tanzania	India Nigeria	Burma Haiti Mali Somalia Zaire	
Under \$200	Rep. of Korea Mauritania Thailand	Bolivia Syrian Arab Republic Egypt	Ecuador Kenya Philippines Zambia	Congo (People's Rep. of) Morocco Sri Lanka Sudan Uganda	Cameroon Indonesia
Under \$300	El Salvador Iran Ivory Coast Jordan	Honduras Iraq Malaysia Papua and New Guinea Turkey	Brazil Colombia Paraguay	Dominican Republic Ghana Liberia Tunisia	Algeria Senegal
Under \$500	Nicaragua Peru	Costa Rica Guatemala	Gabon	Guyana Jamaica	
Over \$500	Cyprus Greece Israel Libyan Arab Republic Mexico Panama Spain Trinidad and Tobago Yugoslavia		Chile Lebanon Venezuela		Argentina Uruguay

Measuring economic growth

It is important to know whether a country is growing economically and how fast. For this, an index or measuring rod is needed. The generally accepted measure is the *percentage increase* each year in *Gross National Income*. For an example, see Table 1.

Gross National Product (usually referred to by the initials GNP) is calculated as follows: find the value (price) of all the new finished products that were bought and sold in the year (or we might say, which 'entered the market'); find also the value of all the services which were paid for in the year—this includes all fees, salaries, wages, etc., utilities such as electric power, etc. Add all these and you have the GNP. If it increases every year by, say, 6 per cent, a country can be considered to be making good economic progress.

Some warnings about interpreting growth of GNP

Consider whether the general level of prices has gone up. If GNP goes up 6 per cent and the general level of prices goes up 6 per cent in the same time, there has not been any real growth of GNP.

The figure for GNP and its increase tells nothing at all about the social worth of the goods and services. If one country builds a lot of houses, schools, and hospitals, this may be of more social worth than spending the same amount on armaments, but the effect on GNP is the same. Also, there may be some social losses, e.g. through pollution, which no one yet knows how to calculate.

If population increases as fast as real GNP, there is no increase in the average income per person.

Has the 5 per cent target been reached?

This is what was said by Lester Pearson, Chairman of the

International Commission on International Development, which reported to the World Bank in 1969:

But figures for GNP do indicate the progress which has been made. The average annual rate of GNP for all developing countries between 1950 and 1968 has been a remarkable 4.8 per cent. . . .

Even if we take income per head, the record is still historically impressive. Some forty-one developing countries have since 1955 managed average growth income *per capita* of 2 per cent or more for a ten-year period. This is roughly what the developed countries of Western Europe and North America achieved in the century starting in 1850.

It is even more encouraging that these forty-one countries, about a third of all the developing countries, are not confined to any geographical area, topography, race, religion, or population size.

They are equally divided between Africa, Latin America and Asia, and they include some of the largest countries as well as some of the smallest.

I do not claim of course that the achievement can simply be laid at the door of foreign aid and technical assistance; of course not. At least 85 per cent of the whole investment effort has been achieved by the developing people themselves. Aid in capital and expertise has often been a catalyst of local action. As a source of scarce foreign exchange, it has frequently been indispensable.

But the hard grinding work and saving that underlie development, particularly in countries with desperately low standards of living—this has been as it must be, accomplished by the people themselves.

How much should prosperous countries contribute?

The General Assembly proposed that the developed countries should aim at measuring international assistance so that about 1 per cent of their combined GNP would be made available to developing countries every year. This 1 per cent would include all kinds of loans and investments carrying low rates of interest to help development together with direct grants of financial aid. It would comprise both bilateral aid and aid transferred through the United Nations and other organizations. This target has not

been fully reached, but Mr Pearson's report says it is possible and necessary to reach or exceed it by 1975.

United Nations Development Programme

Countless steps must be taken to improve social and economic conditions in a poor country. Much of this work does not require or is not suitable for loans from the World Bank and IDA. Instead, this work lays the groundwork for later investments. These basic operations are called *pre-investment* and *technical co-operation* projects. The United Nations Development Programme provides financial and administrative support for many projects of this kind; other parts of the United Nations family provide the expertise. When completed, UNDP-assisted projects currently under way will have cost more than \$2,700 million of which UNDP will have provided about \$1,100 million and the recipient governments (those which receive help) about \$1,600 million. Development work already completed has cost close to \$1,700 million, with the recipient governments paying substantially more than half. *Voluntary* contributions from more than 125 governments provide UNDP with its financial resources. Its funds are not loaned to governments; instead, the money is used to pay for the services of experts, to purchase necessary equipment, and to make possible over 5,000 fellowships each year for advanced study abroad.

*A few examples of projects aided by UNDP:*¹

Algeria. A study of costs, markets, technical problems, in building a proposed plant for producing fertilizer. This 'feasibility' survey led to a decision of investment banks to finance the construction.

Brazil. Feasibility study of large-scale agricultural production in the San Francisco River Basin.

1. Detailed information on the 1,428 UNDP-Special Fund projects approved from 1959 to June 1971 can be obtained by writing to the United Nations Development Programme, United Nations, New York. (Note: WHO is the agency concerned with pre-investment studies for water and sewerage installations in a number of countries.)

Chile. Modernization of meteorological system, collection of data on rainfall, river flow and evaporation needed for planning power and irrigation work.

Ecuador. Pilot centres for teaching farm and factory workers to read and write.

Guinea. Reorganization of the port of Conakry.

Hungary. Development of irrigated agriculture in the Taisze River valley.

India. Modernization of the timber industry.

Jordan. Expansion of marketing of fruits and vegetables.

Republic of Korea. Training of managers in most modern methods.

Lebanon. Location of underground water and soil survey to determine what parts of the country can be successfully irrigated.

Malagasy. Planning and development of a national vocational training programme.

Niger. Establishment of a national school of administration to train civil servants.

Pakistan. Reform of curricula for advanced technical training of engineers and technical staff.

Sudan. Study of possibilities of increasing electric power; followed by World Bank loan.

Thailand. Establishment of a training centre for workers on telecommunication.

Upper Volta. Establishment of an agricultural training centre.

Venezuela. Expansion of health and welfare facilities.

Zambia. Development of small-scale industries.

The World Bank and IDA

The World Bank is officially entitled the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is one of the most interesting and important institutions in the world. It is a co-operative set up by governments which contribute its capital. It also raises money by selling bonds, which it can do easily because of its solid reputation. The Bank makes loans to governments, or

private enterprises guaranteed by the government. These loans are granted only for *productive purposes which will assist in the reconstruction or development of the country*, and only if the government cannot get a loan for the project from private investment banks on reasonable terms. The Bank charges a fairly high rate of interest, and is very businesslike in other ways. It insists that the borrower prove that the loan is being used efficiently for its stated purpose, and inspects progress of the project. It helps governments carry out surveys of their economic needs and advises them on how to plan particular projects. Governments appreciate the Bank because they get unbiased expert advice; they get financing for socially useful projects which private investors will not help finance; they are not dependent on one country or one group of private bankers; they can use the loan for buying equipment wherever it is cheapest and best, and are not required to purchase from some particular country.

An affiliate of the World Bank called the International Finance Corporation gives loans to private companies for enterprises which will help economic development, and particularly helps set up development finance companies.

The International Development Association (IDA) is another affiliate of the World Bank. Its special function is to give credits (loans) without interest to *developing countries for development projects*. The IDA credits are for fifty years and repayment does not begin for ten years. This is the kind of help that allows a very poor country to make a start on long-range development.

Some examples of projects aided by the World Bank and IDA:
Chile. A dam on the Rapel River.

Colombia. A new highway from Bogota to the Pacific.

East Africa. Railways in Kenya, Uganda, and in Nigeria; a power-producing dam in Tanzania at Kainji.

India. A bridge across the Sone River.

Mexico. Electrification.

Swaziland. A highway.

Thailand. The Bhumipal dam and irrigation to control flooding of the Chao Phya River.

Teaching about development problems

It takes from three to five years—at a minimum—for changes in the world to reach the textbook. Teaching about development means therefore an acceptance by the teacher of the challenge to seek material from other sources. Ideally the pupil should take part in this research.

Though it may be both natural and easy to start teaching about developing countries from a point where the pupils' attention has already been gained, e.g. natural catastrophe or war, such an approach of well-meaning charity and compassion can easily lead to patronizing attitudes. In a recent speech to American educators, Tanzania's President Nyerere said: 'The development of peoples follows from economic development only if this latter is achieved on the basis of the equality and human dignity of all involved. And human dignity cannot be given to a man by the kindness of others. Indeed it can be destroyed by kindness which emanates from an action of charity. For human dignity involves equality and freedom and relationships of mutual respect among men.'

A superficial treatment of developing countries and their problems can also lead to the pupil forming an attitude of superiority. Any attempt to explain the causes and effects of world poverty should be given an historical perspective. The present economic dependence of many of the less developed countries on the industrialized nations needs to be seen in the historical context of the imposed dependence of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The tragic dimensions of the problem of hunger and malnutrition in the world can give young people exaggerated feelings of guilt if over-emphasized. More positive and lasting reactions can be obtained by encouraging a reaction of solidarity, which comes more or less naturally when pupils translate terms such as 'starving millions' into terms of people who are in most ways like themselves.

It is easy to study 'development' as if it were a subject in a glass case. Unless the study of development leads to a commitment to action on either a short- or long-term basis, it will

remain an interesting academic exercise of no service to the people of the developing countries.

It is all too easy to give the impression that the developing countries only have problems; positive aspects of life can be shown as well. A class can study resource material presenting the Third World through the eyes of its own people. Senior pupils can also appreciate problems in their own countries, such as pollution.

One can easily give the impression that development is mainly a question of changing others to become like ourselves, whereas the real problem is often one of changing ourselves so as to be able to understand others.

Folklore or exotic approaches are easy ways of catching attention. They are seldom typical of real life!

Questions for study and discussion

1. Use the description of the characteristics of 'developing countries' at the beginning of this chapter in the study of other countries by having a project for study in depth of two or more countries in which the countries are compared in respect of each point.
2. Study the following statement by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, Paul Hoffman. Does it add some new ideas about developing countries?

'What are the realities of global poverty?: Reality number one is the existence throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East of hundreds of millions of poor people—people who live with hunger and often die of it, people who are pinned down by ignorance and cannot escape from it, people who are open to attack by every form of killing and crippling disease, people whose homes are rural shacks or urban slums, people whose children move in appalling numbers directly from the cradle to the grave.

'Reality number two is the growing frustration of the poor in the low-income lands over the lack of opportunity to substantially better their lives. There is no more explosive force on the world scene than the resentment this lack of opportunity creates, particularly among the angry young men—and women. . . . The prospects

for world peace depend in no small measure on whether they will be given the chance to work for changes, or see themselves compelled to fight for it.

'Reality number three concerns the cause and eventual cure of poverty in the low-income nations. One of the most important findings of the United Nations First Development Decade is that most 'poor' countries have a great deal of potential wealth—but that, on the average, they are able to use productively only 20 per cent of their natural resources and 10 per cent of their man, woman, and youth power. What remains untapped is enormous. It is clearly sufficient to permit the building of economies with all the strength and dynamism necessary for meeting human needs—provided that adequate growth possibilities are opened up in certain key economic sectors, and that adequate numbers of people are equipped to take full advantage of those possibilities.

'Reality number four is that during the past decade, with all its disappointments, a significant number of low-income countries have succeeded in laying the foundation for meeting both these prerequisites. And in every case where this vital, though sometimes 'hidden' progress was made, there was a maximum national effort supplemented by the right kinds and sufficient amounts of external development aid.'

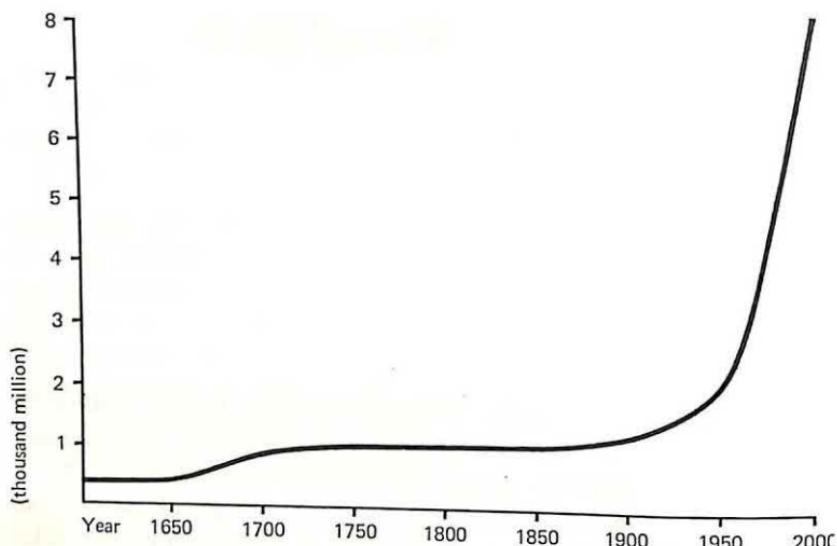
Population

The population of the world is increasing more rapidly than ever before. The present annual growth rate of 2 per cent implies that the world's population will be doubled by the year 2000.

Inevitably, this is a prospect which poses problems of tremendous proportions for economic and social development. The steadily accelerating growth, particularly in the developing regions, has effects on virtually all aspects of life. The attainment of even the most modest goals of improved levels of living, of the basic necessities of life, is jeopardized, unless a way of moderating fertility is found.

An increasing number of nations have begun action to meet the challenge. National programmes of family planning, aiming at the reduction of family size, operate in a large number of countries, and more are being added each year. Fortunately, recent improvement in the world's food supply—'the green revolution'—has postponed the most dire consequences of the explosive population increase, and provided vital time for the continued search for solutions to the problem.

Within the United Nations system, the last decade has brought fundamental changes in attitudes to the population question. All major agencies concerned recognize the need for concerted action, and are authorized by their governing bodies to assist governments in efforts to deal with population problems, if requested to do so. A United Nations Fund for Population Activities has been set up under the leadership of the Administration of the United Nations Development Programme, to provide the requisite finance for international assistance in the population



Growth of world's population since 1650.

field. The United Nations is a major contributor in the field of demographic research, providing essential data on world population trends.

Data on the 'Population Explosion'

Every second, four babies are born somewhere in the world, and one or two people die. In ten seconds about 40 babies have been born, and 15 people have died. *In one minute*, 240 births, 90 deaths: the world's population has *increased by 150*. And in one year? About 120 million births, about 47 million deaths. *Increase* —73 million.

These are the figures for 1970:
 In mid-1970 the world's population was about 3,630 million.
 In mid-1971 it was about 3,700 million.
 The growth rate per year is about 2 per cent.

If this growth rate is maintained, the world's population will *double* in about 35 years.

Consider the graph of the growth of the world's population above.

Population

TABLE 2

World population data ¹

	Estimated population mid-1970 (millions)	Birth rate (per 1,000)	Death rate (per 1,000)	Growth rate (percent-age)	Years to double	1985 projections (millions)
World	3632	34	14	2.0	35	4933
Africa	344	47	20	2.6	27	530
Asia	2056	38	15	2.3	31	2874
North America	228	18	9	1.1	63	280
Latin America (incl. Mexico)	283	38	9	2.9	24	435
Europe (excl. U.S.S.R.)	462	18	10	0.8	88	515
Oceania	19	25	10	2.0	35	27
U.S.S.R.	243	18	8	1.0	70	287
China (incl. in Asia total)	760 ²	34	15	1.8	39	965

1. Principal source: Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

2. United Nations estimate. Other estimates range from 800 to 950 million.

The entire history of human life on this planet until about 1850 was required for the population to reach 1,000 million; only 75 years were required for this figure to double. The 3,000-million level was reached (in the early 1960s) in about 37 years. If this trend continues, the fourth 1,000 million will take only about 15 years, the fifth 1,000 million less than 10 years. . . .¹

The rate is not the same for all countries. Consider Tables 2 and 3.

1. *Population and Family Education*, report of an Asian Regional Workshop, prepared by Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia, Bangkok, 1971.

World problems in the classroom

TABLE 3

World population data : selected nations¹

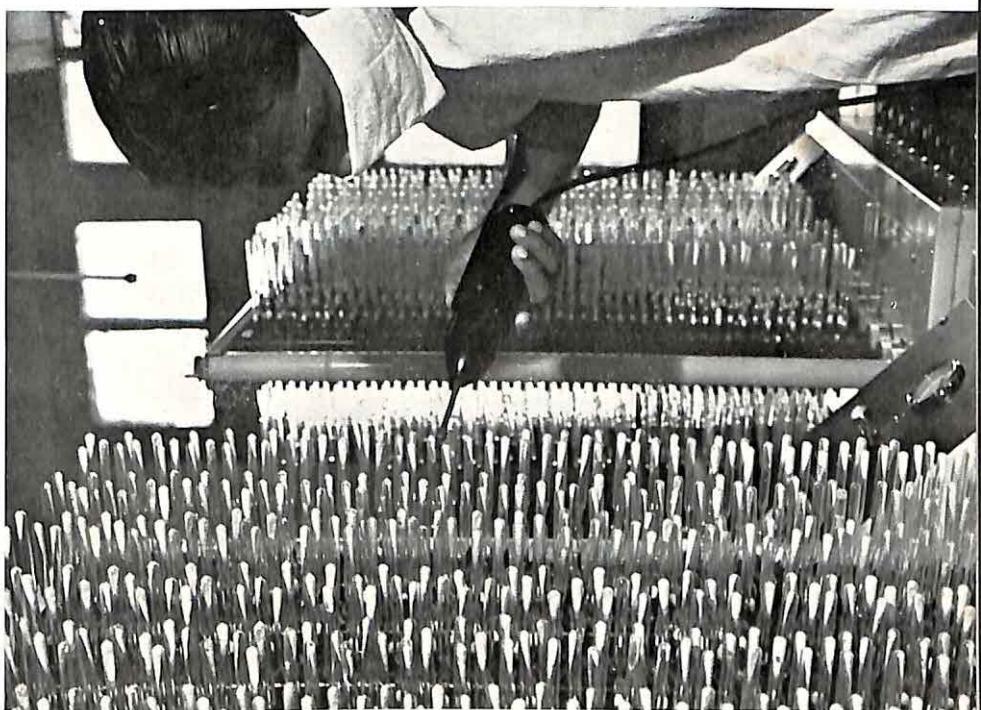
Country	Estimated population mid 1970 (millions)	Birth rate (per 1,000)	Death rate (per 1,000)	Growth rate (percentage)	Years to double	1985 projections (millions)
Australia	12.5	20.0	9.1	1.9	37	17.0
Canada	21.4	17.7	7.4	1.7	41	27.3
India	554.6	42.0	17.0	2.6	27	807.6
Indonesia	121.2	49.0	21.0	2.9	24	183.8
Iran	28.4	48.0	18.0	3.0	24	45.0
Japan	103.5	19.0	7.0	1.1	63	121.3
Khmer Republic	7.2	50.0	20.0	3.0	24	11.3
Laos	3.1	42.0	17.0	2.5	28	4.4
Malaysia	11.0	35.0	8.0	2.8	25	16.4
New Zealand	2.9	22.6	8.9	1.7	41	3.8
Philippines	38.1	50.0	10-15	3.4	21	64.0
Sri Lanka	12.8	32.0	8.0	2.4	29	17.7
Thailand	36.2	46.0	13.0	3.3	21	57.7
United Kingdom	56.3	17.1	11.9	0.5	140	61.8
United States of America	205.2	17.6	9.6	1.0	70	241.7

1. Principal source: Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

Birth rate is the *number* of live births for every thousand people in the population.

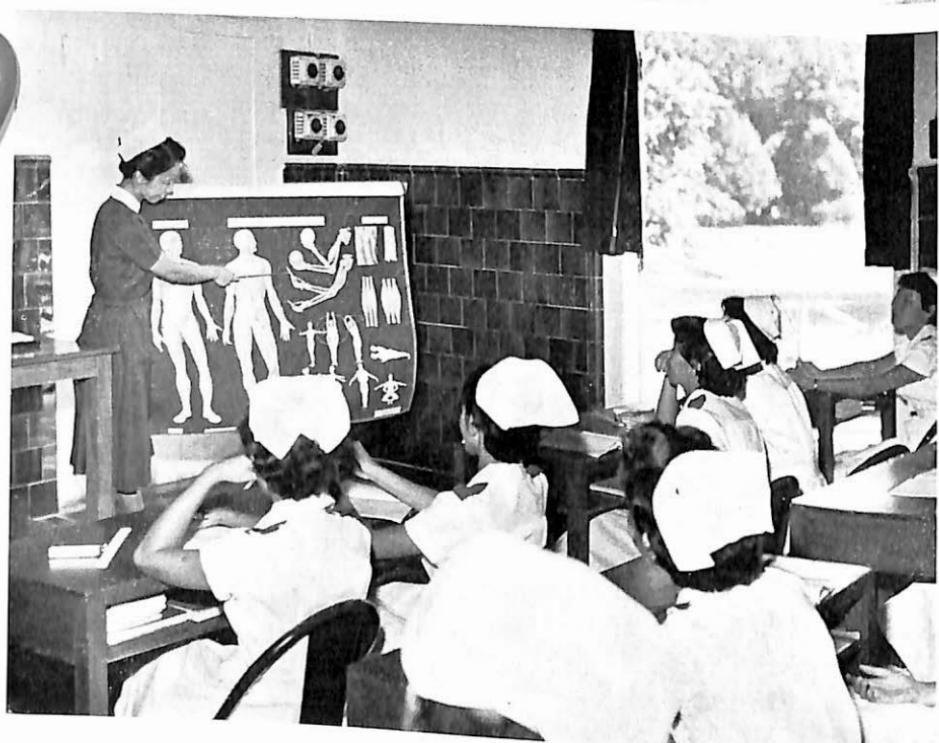
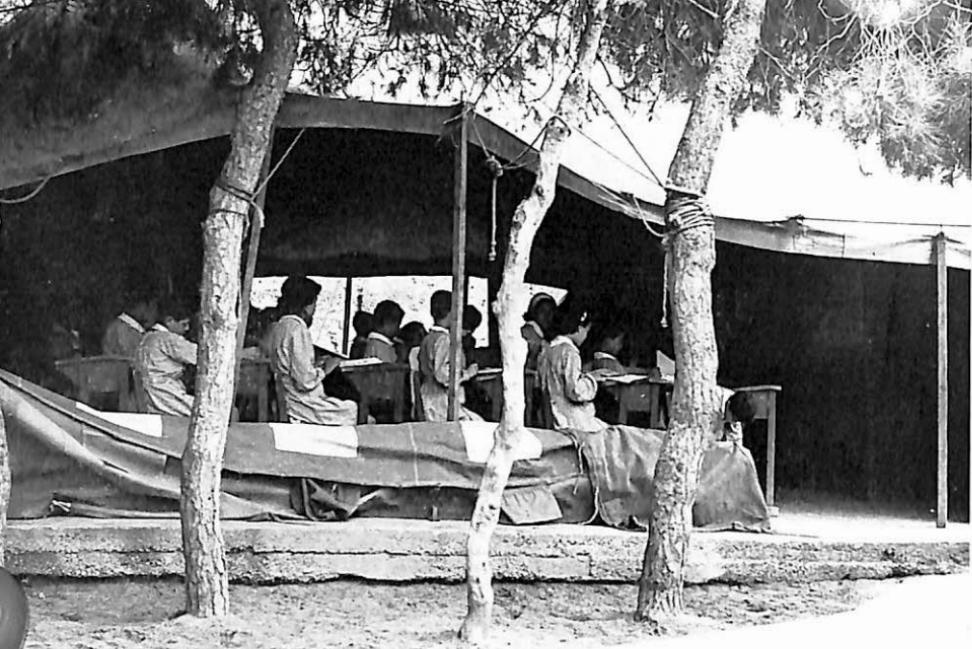
Death rate is the number of deaths for every thousand people.

The difference between birth rates and death rates gives the rate of natural increase in a year, that is, the increase in numbers for *every thousand persons*. This figure is divided by ten to give the growth rate as a percentage. For the world as a whole the calculation gives a growth rate of 2 per cent. For



FOXWATCHERS FAO and WHO collect detailed information on the transmission of rabies by animals. Here a transistor and antenna are used to locate foxes liberated after being equipped with transmitters. (WHO photo by Eric Schwab.)

FIGHT AGAINST SMALLPOX WHO is working in co-operation with all the countries of the world to eliminate smallpox. Above, modern freeze-dried vaccine is prepared above in a laboratory in India. (WHO photo by Sharma.)



MAJOR OPERATION In 1970, some 192,000 pupils were attending UNRWA-Unesco schools in Jordan, Lebanon, Syrian Arab Republic and the Gaza Strip. Above is a tent school in a refugee camp. (Photo Unesco/Dominique Roger.)

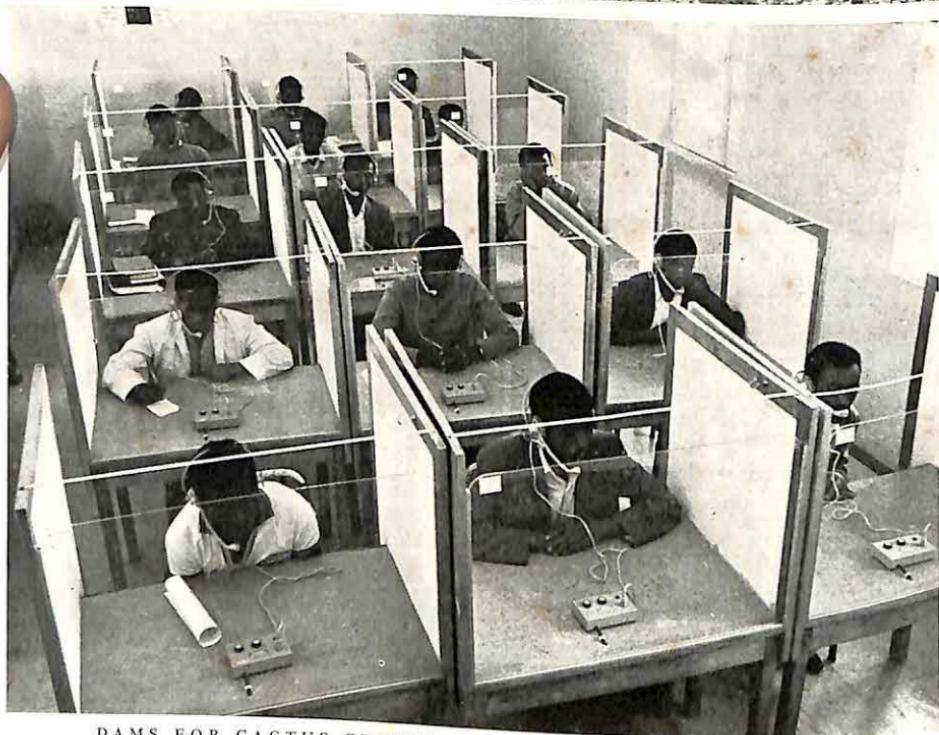
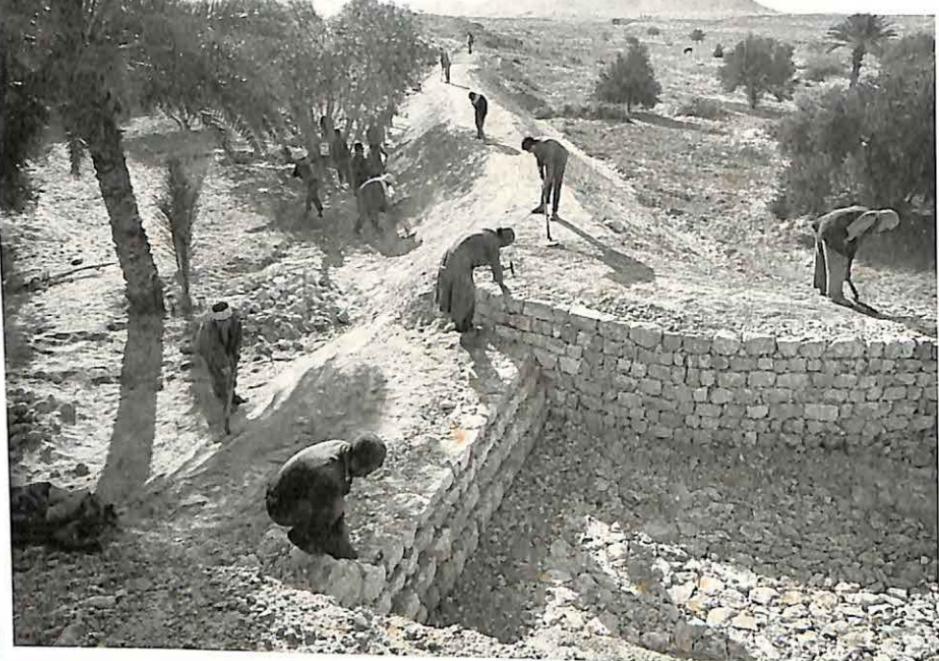
LEARNING ABOUT THE BODY Student nurses attend a lecture at the Federal School of Nurses in Penang, Malaysia. Unicef and WHO helped in the development of the school. (Unicef photo.)



BETTER YIELDS FROM INDUSTRY The productivity of this large spinning mill in the Republic of Korea has been improved with the aid of a Productivity Centre in Seoul which is assisted by the International Labour Organisation

and the United Nations Development Programme. The centre provides courses for all levels of supervisory staff and consultative services for industry and also runs an institute for productivity research.

(International Labour Office photo.)



DAMS FOR CACTUS GROWING

Cactus cultivation has high priority in this part of Tunisia. Grown above small earthwork dams which retain moisture from spring and autumn rains, the cactus serves as fodder during droughts. The United Nations/FAO World Food Programme provides family rations for workers. (WFP/FAO photo by F. Bouts)

TEACHERS FOR TOMORROW

Acting for UNDP, Unesco helps the Faculty of Education (Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa) expand its facilities for training secondary school teachers. Pictured above is the institution's language laboratory. (Photo Unesco/M. Serraillier.)

a given country we must calculate the excess of births over deaths, and add or subtract the number of immigrants or emigrants, then calculate the percentage rate of increase. 'Years to double' tells in how many years the population will *double* if the growth rate is maintained. And, of course, remember that the total population is in millions: add six zeros.

Causes

Birth rates have not been reduced at the same pace as mortality (death rates), which has been reduced *greatly* in the last century—first in developed countries, later in developing countries. Death rates used to be close to birth rates everywhere. Some of the causes of the lower death rate are well known—better sanitation, control of epidemics, more food, care of pregnant women and babies, better medical care generally, antibiotics, etc.

The only way in which human beings can try to slow the population explosion is by trying to bring about a reduction in the birth rate. It might be argued that somehow or other 'nature' will bring about the necessary adjustments in a beneficial way without human planning, but there is no evidence for this.

Role of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies

The United Nations accepts completely 'the sovereignty of nations in formulating and promoting their own population policies, with due regard to the principle that the size of the family should be the free choice of each individual family'.

Heads of thirty States have signed a declaration that opportunity should be given to individuals to decide the number and spacing of children as they desire.

The United Nations is the world's centre for research on population. It helps countries carry out 'complete and accurate census reports periodically on the world population situation'.

A United Nations Fund on Population Activities has been set up to which anyone can contribute.

The World Health Organization promotes research on long-term consequences of various contraceptive methods, helps governments to train personnel responsible for family planning, and to make family planning a part of general health services.

Unesco assists in the development of education and communication, and in social research, relating to population.

Unicef gives material help to maternal and child health services which may include family planning, and may supply contraceptives at the request of governments.

ILO and FAO are concerned with such aspects as manpower problems, workers' education and rural education.

Questions for study and discussion

1. Compare *birth* rates, *death* rates and *growth* rates of *developed* regions and countries, and *developing* regions and countries. North America, Europe and the U.S.S.R. are *on the whole* developed; the other regions *on the whole* developing.
2. Give evidence for the following statements:
 - (a) Birth rates in *developed* countries at present tend to be about 20 per thousand.
 - (b) Birth rates in *developing* countries tend to range from 35-50 per thousand.
 - (c) Death rates in developed countries tend to be close to 10 per thousand.
 - (d) Death rates in developing countries range from about 10 to 20 per thousand.
 - (e) The population of developing countries is increasing at a much faster rate than the population of developed countries. (Exception: several developed countries with small populations have a fairly large number of immigrants.)
 - (f) On the whole, population is *increasing fastest* in countries which can least *afford to feed, keep in good health, educate and provide a good standard of living*.
3. We can discuss knowledgeably some of the consequences of increase in size of family, but can we argue that the consequences of community and national population increase will be

Population

the same? This can be a useful exercise in arguing by analogy from x to y . If we are familiar with x , it may help us to see similar features of y ; but we need to watch out for differences between x and y .

4. Has a fairly large family, growth of a town, of a country's population, traditionally been considered as good or bad? Usually good. Why?
5. Many parents who love children wish to have a small family. What reasons might they have?

Food and hunger

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food . . .

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Is it possible to feed the people of the world 'well'? What does 'to feed well' mean? If we want to establish and maintain good standards of nutrition for all people, what problems arise? What kind of co-operative actions should we take internationally, through mutual aid? What is being done?¹

Nutrition

A well-fed person eats enough of the energy-giving foods to supply the energy which he uses up in keeping alive and active. This food is like the fuel that is burned up in running an engine. He also eats enough of the foods which build the body and repair it and keep it healthy. When we speak of the amount of food a person needs, we use the term *calorie*. A large calorie is the amount of energy (food) sufficient to raise the temperature of one kilogramme of water one degree centigrade.

1. For the development of the problems of food and hunger, the home economics teacher, the science teacher, especially the teacher of biological science, and teachers and persons in the community who have a specialized knowledge of farming can help either by furnishing additional material or by giving lessons or having interest groups to study any one phase of the problem.

Energy foods are starches and sugar (the carbohydrates), fats and proteins.

The growth and health protection foods are proteins, minerals and vitamins. The daily diet of a well-fed man would give about 2,500 to 3,000 calories, and it would contain about 50 per cent sugar and starches, 11–13 per cent protein, at least 30 per cent of animal origin; 25–30 per cent fats; plus minerals, salts, and vitamins. The food for the day might include: for energy—grains (such as rice, whole grain) bananas, sugar, fruit; for building, repairing and protecting the body—pulses, meat, eggs, fish, milk and milk products, green vegetables, fresh fruit.

The underfed and the badly fed. Many people get less energy-giving food than they need for living actively. People cannot work hard on a diet which gives less than 2,000 calories a day, and the fewer calories they get, the more they become listless, passive, and weak. People will quickly starve to death on a diet that is down to 500 calories a day. During the Second World War, millions of people died of starvation in concentration camps and devastated countryside and towns which were cut off from food supplies. Today, in the cities even in the 'developed' countries, the poor and neglected, and particularly children and the aged, slowly starve, unless good social services look after them.

In many parts of the world, millions of people are constantly underfed. People living in the rural areas do not all get enough food for energy. Far from it: most of the people in most parts of Latin America, Africa and Asia live in small villages in the countryside and work at some kind of farming, but many millions of them are underfed. Millions more are badly fed in the sense that they do not get the protein foods they need, even if they get enough food to subsist at a low level of energy. They contract infectious diseases like tuberculosis.¹ Children who get no meat, fish, or eggs are incredibly thin, with legs like sticks, and big stomachs. If they survive, they grow up sickly and weak. Possibly 300 million children suffer from this 'protein-calorie malnutrition'. It is now known that this kind of malnutrition in babyhood and early childhood may slow down intellectual

1. Measles are more severe in children suffering from malnutrition.

growth and that this loss can never be repaired. The children are likely to be less intelligent than they might have been.

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is the member of the United Nations family which leads the war against hunger and malnutrition. However, other organizations give a helping hand. WHO works for better health, Unicef works for children and mothers, UNDP works for total economic and social development, ILO works to raise standards of living, Unesco works for better education. Progress in any one of these areas depends partly on progress in the others. If farm workers are protected from malaria, they can farm better than if they are sick; if farmers produce and sell more protein-rich foods, and if factory workers earn enough to buy these foods, their children will be healthier, and so on. FAO, in co-operation with other international organizations, *promotes national action and international co-operation* in the war against hunger. We can learn much about this world-wide problem by studying the activities of FAO and the reasons for them. Here are some of the questions which government agencies are working on, as are universities, research centres, businessmen, and farmers all over the world.

Helping countries to produce more of the food they need

The industrialized countries of Europe, North America and Australia produce almost two-thirds of the world's food and other agricultural products. Agricultural countries in other continents import cereals and spend much of their foreign exchange just on feeding their people—at a low level. They grow and export luxury foods and raw materials. Large areas produce only one kind of crop. Their people die slowly of malnutrition and starve quickly in time of drought and famine.

FAO and private foundations have helped to develop high-yielding cereal crops. The most famous and influential research has been done on wheat in Mexico and on rice at Los Banos in the Philippines. The research director in Mexico, Dr Norman Borlaug, was given the Nobel Peace Prize (1970). Some of the new cereals have been tried out in some countries with such

spectacular results that people call it the 'Green Revolution'. Mexico used to import half the wheat that its people consumed; now it exports. Pakistan produced 4½ million tons of wheat in 1965, 7 million tons in 1970. The Philippines changed from a rice-importing to a rice-exporting country in three years. The value of the search to produce higher-yielding crops has thus been made clear to everyone. It never ends. A better seed which produces a short sturdy plant (a characteristic of the new strains) instead of a tall weak one must also be resistant to innumerable plant diseases. It must be suited to the soil and water supply of the particular locality. The search for better strains must go on in each country. This is why FAO supports agricultural research centres working on new crop varieties, soil fertility and water resources.

Under the citizen-supported Freedom from Hunger Campaign, FAO has sent specialists to about thirty countries to carry out thousands of studies and demonstrations on soil fertility. These experts carry out about 20,000 demonstrations and tests every year of the qualities and types of fertilizer needed by the various soils of these countries. FAO also co-operates with international businesses to help establish industries in developing countries for the manufacture of fertilizer and pesticides. India doubled its production of fertilizer between 1965 and 1968. All developing countries used five times as much fertilizer in 1967 as ten years before.

FAO sent specialists to study soil in over twenty countries. At the same time it was helping to set up centres of agricultural education and programmes for demonstrating modern techniques of farming. It has helped a dozen countries to study reform of land tenure. It has also helped to train people to manage co-operatives and set up centres for training in marketing, and to establish a service which gives credit to farmers.

Problems in promoting production of more and better foods

There are people who think that farmers in Latin America, Asia and Africa are ignorant and conservative and that this

is why they are slow to change their ways of farming and living. But is it not possible that being slow to change may sometimes be evidence of good sense and a knowledge of what is most important to those concerned—their own future. The farmers in these countries know how to grow crops and raise animals in the way they have done in the past. They know that a farmer's life is risky in that he may get no return for his work in a bad year of plant or animal disease, pests or drought. They know that they must borrow to buy seed and equipment and to feed their families during the planting and growing season, and there is a risk of being perpetually in debt. They know—at least many of them know—that they will not profit very much themselves if they have a better crop because they are tenants or sharecroppers who will have to pay much of their increased income to the landowners. Farmers suspect that new ways of doing things may increase the risks and they want proof that the new ways really work and are in fact of benefit. They want to see demonstrations of new seed carried out for several years.

Since it is a question of convincing not a few farmers, but millions of them, there must be enough convincing demonstrations so that the word will spread and be believed. Each farmer wants proof that *his* soil is the right soil. He wants to know whether more water will be needed. He wants to know how he is going to sell the new crop and whether he will get a fair price and whether the consumers will in fact like the new food and buy it. Many farmers want some reforms in land tenure—the rules and conditions under which they occupy and use their land—so that they will not be dependent on wealthy landowners. And they want to be able to borrow money at low rates of interest.

The farmers may wonder if new methods, including machines, will turn out to benefit only the men who have large farms, who can afford to take risks, to invest in machines and fertilizer and new seeds and who can use powered machines profitably. They may fear that their own small farms will be swallowed up by the big landowners. Any and all of these questions and others trouble the farmers. These are the kinds of problems that FAO activities are trying to solve.

Half the farmers in the world are subsistence farmers (if those in the developing countries alone are counted, the proportions rise to 80 per cent). In many countries a farmer's total cash income may be less than \$50 a year and attempts to aid him which fail to bear this in mind are almost certainly doomed to failure. It is no use showing him implements and equipment he cannot afford to buy. Even when made available through farmers' co-operatives, they must be cheap and simple and a good extension service must be provided to show him how to use them.

Very often, the most solid gains can be most easily achieved by the introduction of simple principles and the practice of what may best be termed 'good husbandry'. This is something the farmer readily understands. Yet the advantages of simple changes are often overlooked in governmental and intergovernmental circles, where faith is too often pinned to scientific and technological advances beyond the husbandman's capability.

The following news item, reported October 1970 (*Bangkok Post*) illustrates some of the problems that accompany the introduction of new crops:

Islamabad, Pakistan. A dark side is emerging in the green revolution. 'Miracle' varieties of wheat and rice are boosting production in Asia, but experts say the greater yields pose problems of surpluses, unemployment and possibly new diseases.

A conference here of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization was told that the new varieties cost more to grow and don't taste as good in chapatis, the flat bread that is a staple in the subcontinent.

'It would appear as though we are approaching the end of the tunnel and there is a gleam of hope that we might at long last win our battle against hunger and malnutrition', said Pakistan's Agriculture and Works Secretary, A. K. M. Ahsan, in what sounded like an optimistic statement.

'One might wonder if the present achievements should give rise to more than cautious optimism,' he added.

Pakistani after Pakistani warned delegates from twenty countries that all is not bright about the green revolution, even though 'miracle wheat' has boosted Pakistan's production from $4\frac{1}{2}$ million tons in 1965 to more than 7 million tons this year.

'Pakistan has already started experiencing some problems arising out of the cultivation of these varieties,' said Shafi Niaz, Agricultural Secretary of the Punjab, the richest wheat-growing area.

He said new varieties require 30 to 50 per cent more water, so farmers cannot cultivate as many acres.

'New varieties do not come up to the standard of consumers,' Mr Niaz added. 'Their chapati-making quality is poor.'

'This factor brings a discount of about 30 per cent in the marked price of new varieties compared to conventional varieties.'

'The new varieties have not been fully tested against pests and diseases and run the risk of being devastated.'

American scientists already have warned India and Pakistan that a new corn blight is an example of what can happen in planting a large acreage with the same kind of grain resistant to only certain diseases.

Growing the new wheat involves harder work but not more labourers. According to Sartaj Aziz of the Pakistan Planning Commission higher yields and less labour is needed for each ton of wheat. He quoted survey figures that introduction of farm machines may cut labourers needed from eight to four persons for each 100 acres.

Mr Ahsan said: 'Surplus cereals would create problems of storage, distribution and marketing. Storage of surplus agricultural commodities can be very expensive.'

Producing more protein

FAO promotes production of more high-quality animal protein in the developing countries. Experts advise on breeding cattle, improving pasture and managing cattle ranges. In one year, 250 fellowships were granted for overseas study in vaccine production, animal breeding, and dairy plant technology. Permanent training centres have been established in such countries as Denmark, Sweden and Kenya in veterinary medicine and meat hygiene. Dairy farming and milk processing are also vitally important concerns of the FAO programme.

An example of action against animal disease; rinderpest is a disease of cattle and buffaloes which has, in the past, killed very

large numbers of livestock. It has been successfully eradicated from most countries of South-East Asia as the result of intensive work by the countries of the region, supported by FAO and technicians from the developed countries.

A serious outbreak of rinderpest occurred in Thailand in 1958 and was brought completely under control in six months by the Thai veterinary service assisted by an FAO veterinarian. The expert worked for four years in Thailand under the United Nations Technical Assistance programme (EPTA), developing vaccines and new production techniques. With his assistance rinderpest was controlled and eradicated in that country. He also introduced control measures for other diseases, such as hog cholera, in the countries of South-East Asia.

In the Khmer Republic (formerly Cambodia), however, the disease continued to smoulder in isolated areas. In March 1961 the government reported a series of outbreaks. FAO sent in two veterinarians; 300,000 doses of vaccine obtained with EPTA contingency funds were administered. An intensive disease-control campaign was started and continued with the help of FAO veterinarians and eight experts on vaccine production and field control. There were two small outbreaks in 1964 but the disease was brought under control and not a single outbreak has occurred since that year.

Fish provides about 12 per cent of the animal protein that man eats. One good way to increase protein consumption would be to increase the consumption of fish; hence, FAO supports teaching about the nutritional value of fish, together with cultivation of inland-water fish and more extensive use of the sea's vast fish resources.

Fish catches from the ocean have greatly increased—they more than doubled from 28 million metric tons in 1956 to 67 million metric tons in 1970. The rapid rise is partly due to technological advances in fishing. Electronic devices—some of them borrowed from the Space Age—show skippers where the fish are and how to estimate the size of stocks and their movements. Improvements in fishing gear make it possible to fish at record depths. Factory ships operate autonomously for months at sea, bringing back fish that is processed and canned or

packaged, ready for consumption. Improved refrigeration techniques and use of atomic irradiation help to keep fish fresh for longer periods.

However, the protein-deficient people are not getting much of these bigger catches from the ocean. Japan uses a large part of its catch; in fact, fish provides more than a third of the animal protein intake of the Japanese people. Peru had a catch of 12 million tons in 1970 but this consisted mostly of anchovetta, which was reduced to fish meal and exported for animal feeding. The United States was the biggest importer of fish but much of this consisted of delicacies like shrimp and, in any case, the United States has ample protein resources. How to get much more fish from the sea and ocean and into the diet of the poor gives FAO many problems to work on. It is examining ideas for sea-farms for cultivating fish and plant life such as phyto-plankton and algae, and has done much to promote the cultivation of fish in rivers, lakes, rice paddies and reservoirs.

FAO keeps well informed about many other ideas for protein enrichment of the diet and supports experimental projects. Protein concentrates and powders can be made from soy beans, wheat, fish, green leaves, and even from fuel oil. These have not proved popular so far, but it seems quite possible that in the future we shall get much of our protein from biochemists rather than from farmers and fishermen.

Prevention of food losses

Can you imagine a cloud consisting of 1,000 million *grasshoppers*? That is a moderate-sized swarm of desert locusts and consumes 3,000 tons of food a day (it would take an elephant forty years to eat that much). A swarm in the Sudan in 1954 ate 55,000 tons of grain, enough to feed more than 300,000 people for a year.

The desert locusts have largely been kept down in recent years by international control programmes co-ordinated by FAO. Other destroyers of food—birds, insects and rats—are always about. Land can be made useless by erosion, by salt deposits

from evaporated water or by excessive burning of trees and undergrowth.

It is estimated that between 20 and 30 per cent of all agricultural production in the world is lost to pests, diseases and weeds. In India rats take probably 10 million tons of grain a year. It is reckoned also that 3 million tons of rice are lost a year because it is not dried properly: many farmers have to hand over much of their crop in payment of a debt or as rent to a landlord and have no incentive to dry it so that it can be kept in storage.

FAO gives a high priority to 'war against waste'. With FAO help, people:

- (a) plant trees to combat erosion;
- (b) build earth-wall dams against floods or construct windbreaks of cane and wire;
- (c) put concrete floors in primitive storehouses, and put ground-glass plaster on walls and metal strips under the doors;
- (d) set up government or commercial pest control units;
- (e) experiment with 'biological control'—the use of natural predators against insects and rats;
- (f) discover the use of safe chemicals;
- (g) build modern mills;
- (h) build roads so that grain can be transported to mills quickly.

Here is an anecdote which shows how FAO helped to solve one problem of food loss:

About 100,000 tons of fish are caught annually in Mali from the bountiful Niger River, which flows through 1,800 kilometres of the desert republic. The catch is dried in the sun and dehydrated to a fifth of its original weight so that it can be preserved and economically transported to the neighbouring countries of Ghana, Upper Volta, and the Ivory Coast. But as soon as the fish is put in the sun it is attacked by insects, about a fifth of the catch being infested. Experiments by an FAO expert showed that at a temperature of 80 degrees centigrade, the insects are destroyed. His solution was to box the fish in plastic containers and set the boxes in the sun, where the internal temperature rose to the necessary point within 30 minutes. Infestation was stopped, the dead insects fell out, and the catch was saved.

The World Food Programme (WFP)

FAO and the United Nations have established a programme called the World Food Programme. This has a simple basic plan: some countries donate food (largely surplus), cash, and services such as shipping, and WFP sends the food to places which need it very much. The programme had been at work for eight years by 1971 and over one hundred countries had contributed about \$800 millions worth of food, services and cash. These resources had been committed to a large number of projects of economic and social development in 85 countries.

This is not a relief programme; the food and other goods, like animal feed, are not simply given away to poorer countries for free general distribution to their poorer citizens. There are strong objections against trying to solve the problems of hunger by any continuous 'international relief' programme. Of course, for humanitarian reasons, people and their governments are willing to help victims of floods, earthquakes, droughts and other disasters; and the World Food Programme, like many other agencies, does give some emergency relief.

If it is not a general relief programme, how does the World Food Programme work? The answer is this: the food is given to help countries carry out some particular self-help projects; that is, projects which are planned to promote economic and social development. The following are examples of such projects:

1. *Food as wages.* Egypt has built the Aswan High Dam, which will supply a steady stream of water for irrigation (as well as electrical power). It was necessary to dig a great network of canals and ditches and build a drainage system. The World Food Programme supplied food as part of the wages of the workers.

In Algeria, most of the old forest land has been eroded. A vast work of reforestation is under way. By 1965, 20 million saplings had been planted and 30,000 men were at work, but the government could not feed them any longer. The World Food Programme gave emergency aid and continued for several years to provide rations for these men and their families.

By mid-1971, 52 million trees had been planted on the barren slopes and plains.

2. *Food for schoolchildren.* The Government of the People's Republic of the Congo is devoting 17.5 per cent of the national budget to education while Unesco, Unicef and bilateral aid agencies are also contributing to its efforts to overcome the shortage of teachers, buildings and equipment. The children, however, are not sufficiently well nourished to be able to derive full benefit from their studies. Most of them walk long distances to school and only eat when they return home in the evening. The government gives boarding scholarships to some secondary school children and the World Food Programme is to supplement this grant by providing food worth \$867,800 over a five-year period to provide balanced and nutritious school meals in fifteen secondary boarding schools, five technical schools, and four teacher training colleges. In 1969 meals were given to 3,300 pupils (some of them refugees from Angola) and by 1973 the number will be 4,240. Instructors in the literacy programme who are teaching 12,000 workers also receive free meals.

3. *Food for volunteers.* In Sri Lanka there is a movement called 'Shramadana' meaning 'donation of effort'. People in a community volunteer to do work for the good of the community. The needs of the growing population has meant that the area of land available for rice production must be increased, and cultivation on existing lands intensified. The Shramadana movement has played a large part in agricultural and other development. Irrigation systems have been used in Sri Lanka for more than a thousand years, but many have fallen into disuse, and cultivation in many areas has been abandoned because of malaria. Volunteers have hacked away the entangling jungle and repaired ancient canals, they have restored the disused storage tanks and enabled the water to flow freely again into the fields. They have waded waist-deep to clear weeds from the choked canals. Thousands of schoolchildren have helped with rice weeding and yields of rice have increased as a result. In the communities, volunteers

have helped each other to build solidly constructed new houses, they have built schools and community centres and roads and carried out repair and cleaning work in temples and hospitals. Students are encouraged to help in their vacations and so learn something of their country's problems.

In all these activities the World Food Programme food aid provides a stimulus and an encouragement to sustained, rather than spasmodic, effort. It has made possible the undertaking of more and larger schemes than would otherwise have been attempted, at any rate immediately.

4. *Food for war victims.* When the Israeli-Arab States war occurred in 1967, many Palestinians became refugees in the Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan, and Egypt (as had already happened in 1947). The World Food Programme quickly provided emergency food aid for a quarter of a million people.

Questions for study and discussion

1. Do many people in your community and in your country suffer from undernourishment or protein malnutrition? How would you get reliable information as evidence for this? Why, in a world of abundance for some, must others still suffer from hunger and poverty?
2. What do you think of this statement: 'One advantage that poor children in the country have over poor children in the city is that they get enough to eat because their parents can grow their own food'?
3. Hunger is one of the consequences of underdevelopment—but what do these terms 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' countries mean? What can children and teachers in different parts of the world do in a practical way to help development and to change a world that accepts as normal the gap between the so-called 'developed' and rich societies and those who are poor and economically underdeveloped?

The human environment

The United Nations holds many international conferences on a multitude of subjects. Useful and necessary as they are, many such international conferences fail to fire the public imagination or rank as dramatic events. But in 1972 the United Nations held a conference which might well be regarded as an event of world-wide importance. This was the United Nations Conference on the *Human Environment*. The Conference studied the global problems arising from man's intervention in the natural environment on which he depends for his life and health. The delegates from the member countries of the United Nations served, one might say, as a committee of the human race and on behalf of us all considered how we can replace reckless exploitation with intelligent management of the earth's resources. This meeting is a first long step in the direction of a planetary awareness of man's interdependence not only with his own kind but also with the life-sustaining natural environment which we share with all living things.

Ecological systems

Living things exist in a thin layer of air, water and soil on the earth's surface—the biosphere, as it has been called. The physical and chemical features of the biosphere on which life depends are themselves altered and renewed by the activities of living things—animals, plants and micro-organisms. A complex system of processes, in which living things interact with a sector of the

environment and renew it so that it sustains life, is called an *ecological* system or eco-system. *Ecology* is the science which describes these systems of activities of living things in the environment.

A simplified example of one ecological system may be given as follows. Fish in a lake die, or produce wastes; organic material enters the water; micro-organisms decompose this, producing inorganic materials, and use up oxygen in the process. Algae (green plants) convert the inorganic materials (nitrate, phosphorus, carbon dioxide) by photosynthesis into organic materials—and also produce oxygen. The algae are consumed by minnows; the minnows are eaten by larger fish; the large fish contribute waste and ultimately die, and so on. This system may break down. If too much organic material goes into water, the bacteria need more oxygen than the water supplies, the bacteria die and the organic debris does not decay but instead accumulates. Or large quantities of nitrates may be discharged into the water, making the algae grow excessively, and some die and overload the system with organic materials.

Similar systems operate in the soil and the air. The biosphere is a vast network of systems in which the life and death of animals, plants and micro-organisms are tied together.

Pollution

In the development of human cultures, man has necessarily 'intervened' in the natural environment in countless ways, and very much to the better from man's point of view, as we consider the progress made from the life of the cave-man. As part of the price of progress some other species have been destroyed, some once fertile land has been laid waste, some part of irreplaceable resources has been used up. But this has seemed a small price, especially when one takes into account that much destruction occurs for which man is not responsible: for example, most deserts are not man-made. And man has made some deserts bloom, and has the capacity to manage resources more prudently and scientifically and to preserve endangered species.

Students of the environment have warned us, however, that man should not be complacent about his effect on the environment, and in the last few years their warnings have gained widespread public attention. In particular the concept of 'pollution of the environment' has gained currency. In many parts of the world, especially large urban areas, people have been convinced by the evidence of their own senses: undrinkable water, poisonous air, foul rivers, filthy beaches. We have learned that these are not merely local nuisances which may to some extent be corrected by minor improvements in technology and administration. It appears that they are also symptoms of widespread damage to the environment. It also appears that our new technology which enriches human life may also, as a by-product, endanger ecological systems which sustain all life.

One way to get a general idea of this menace is to think about *waste* products that have to be disposed of. A human being's bodily wastes fit into the natural ecological system, given reasonable precautionary measures. In large communities elaborate sanitary engineering systems have been constructed to cope with the problem of pollution by human waste with enormous benefits to the inhabitants, although these too entail some damaging effects which are matters of concern. But human wastes are a small part of the problem in a modern industrialized society. Power plants, automotive engines and industrial processes release vast quantities of waste-substances on a scale too large for the chemical processes of the ecological systems to handle; rivers and lakes and even seas are dying. Furthermore, many man-made chemicals, such as synthetic detergents and plastics cannot be decomposed by the bacteria of decay (they are not 'biodegradable'); they accumulate and pollute and poison.

The evidence

Why did the Assembly decide that a world conference was needed? The reasons are suggested by some of the facts in the

Secretary-General's report on the environment.¹ A sampling of the evidence follows:

Reliance of modern technology on combustion of fossil fuels has brought a 10 per cent increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide over the past century. With increased rates of combustion to meet growing energy demands, this could rise to 25 per cent by the year 2000. A continued increase in excess unabsorbed carbon dioxide could have a catastrophic warming effect. Melting of the polar ice-caps, radical changes in the ecology of the seas, even floods on an undreamed-of scale are among the potential consequences. Also to be considered is the effect of urban air pollution on the health of city dwellers.

Modern technology has increased the amount of waste products which become pollutants. In the United States alone, these wastes and pollutants included in a recent year: 7 million automobiles; 20 million tons of paper; 48,000 million cans; and 142 million tons of smoke and noxious fumes, most of it from automotive engines, power plants and factories.

All coastal nations use the sea for disposal of waste: millions of gallons of raw sewage, millions of tons of garbage dumped from barges, uncertain amounts of low-level radioactive wastes disposed of through pipelines or in sealed containers. Water used to cool power-plant turbines returns to rivers adding heat pollution.

Industries often create serious problems through pollution of air and water, damage to agricultural lands, and destruction of scenery. Many rivers and lakes in industrialized areas, including international waterways, are polluted by chemicals and human waste. Fresh-water fish in some regions, even tuna and sword-fish from the deep seas, have been declared unfit to eat because of dangerously high levels of mercury. Rivers may become useless as sources of water supplies for human use.

The spread of the urban-industrial network with its associated transport facilities consumes space at a high rate. In addition, erosion and salinization have taken a toll of an estimated 500 million hectares of arable land, and two-thirds of the world's forest area has been lost to production.

1. See: *UN Monthly Chronicle*, February 1971, p. 36-7.

Some 150 species of birds and animals have become extinct because of human activities, and about 1,000 species of wild animals are now considered rare or endangered.

With the accelerating growth of the world's population and rapid urbanization, more of the world's inhabitants live in over-crowded conditions. Wretched slums become the environment of people who once lived in greater dignity and better health on rural lands. In the developing nations, the urban population will have increased twentyfold in only eighty years between 1920 and 2000. As urban planning lags behind urban sprawl, mental distress arises from air and water pollution, inadequate transportation, congestion and noise. A number of social problems appear to be linked with overcrowding and overloading of public services: juvenile delinquency and other crime, mental breakdowns, psychosomatic effects, suicides and drug addiction. The risk of epidemics is an even greater hazard.

Some chemicals aiding agricultural development and health protection have adverse side-effects recognized long after they have been in use. Pest-killing agents save crops and prevent disease, but may harm plants, wildlife, fish and the marine environment, which in turn plays a role in maintaining atmospheric oxygen. DDT is a controversial example. An estimated 1,000 million pounds of DDT have been dumped into the environment, and another 100 million pounds are added each year, although its use is now restricted in some countries.

Large-scale construction of dams, reservoirs, canals, power stations and other installations may lead to undesired effects including siltation, loss of delta lands, salinization, spread of water-borne diseases and displacement of people.

Referring to these multiple hazards, U Thant observed: 'To produce at any cost, without due consideration of effects on the environment, can no longer be the central preoccupation of man.'

Plans and proposals

'New economic thinking, new legal instruments, new administrative measures and new governmental priorities'—the need for

all of these was stressed by the Secretary-General in his opening address to the Preparatory Committee for the Conference.¹

What kinds of action might be taken? A number of measures have been suggested by the Secretary-General, the Preparatory Committee, the Specialized Agencies and other bodies, and various Member States. Some of the suggested avenues are:

- Systematic data collection and monitoring of pollution levels;
- Study of the health effects of pollution;
- Exchange of information among countries;
- Study of the effect of environmental legislation on supply and demand of national resources and on development opportunities within developing countries;
- Setting of international standards or limits for chemical, physical and biological contaminants and other quantifiable injurious factors;
- Promotion of scientific research to develop environment-saving alternatives, such as plant derivatives and biological methods to replace persistent toxic chemicals for controlling pests;
- Formulation of national environmental policies and plans, to ensure optimum land use and achievement of such goals as control of urban sprawl, rational management of resources, and expanded low-cost housing.

1. The Director-General of WHO, Dr M. G. Candau, pointed out to the twenty-fourth World Health Assembly (May 1971) that there is a tendency nowadays to associate environmental problems with modern technology, with industrial pollution, the excessive use of pesticides and so on; but if we ask ourselves where are people ill and dying because of defects in the environment the answer must also include those cities, villages and rural areas where safe drinking water is scarce.

The twenty-fourth World Health Assembly adopted a resolution emphasizing WHO's concern and responsibility with respect to adverse effects of the environment on human health, a problem which was of central importance in the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

The Assembly also took note of the loss of life and health imposed on hundreds of millions of people by preventable diseases that originate in the environment in which they live, and emphasized the need to improve basic environmental health and sanitation in all countries, and notably developing countries, with special emphasis on the provision of adequate quantities of potable water and the sanitary disposal of wastes.

A report submitted by a panel of experts convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (4 to 12 June 1971) stated in para. 1.4:

'However, the major environmental problems of developing countries are essentially of a different kind; they are predominantly problems that reflect the poverty and very lack of development of their societies. They are problems, in other words, of both rural and urban poverty. In both towns and in the countryside, not merely the "quality of life" but life itself is endangered by poor water, housing, sanitation and nutrition, by sickness and disease and by natural disasters.'

'Pious hopes, belated promises and tardy efforts at self-discipline', U Thant declared, will not be enough to stop the abuse of the earth and its resources. If effective measures are to be taken in time, something more is needed—a 'global authority' closely associated with the United Nations. Such an authority, he said, would embark on the delicate process of reaching compromises among governments and interests on matters affecting the environment. It should be able to police and enforce its decisions if necessary, he added. The Secretary-General asked whether the nations of the world had the courage and vision to support such an environmental authority, thus departing from 'the hitherto sacred paths of *national sovereignty*'.¹

Questions for study and discussion

This subject has already become a subject for study in many colleges and teacher training institutions and schools. Local environments afford numerous problems for study, ranging from the simplest questions about human wastes to the conditions of lakes and rivers, to the study of the chemistry of life-death-and-decay cycles. It is a problem which lends itself to co-operative projects among teachers of different subjects, and to the use of inquiry and action methods. And in dealing with this problem it is possible to apply one of the sound principles in education for international understanding, namely, to move to and fro between the local, the national, and the international dimensions of a problem, and to interpret distant or world-wide concerns and actions in the light of the growing personal experience of the pupil.

1. One might ask: what problems of pollution do we have in our community which might also be discussed at an international conference on the human environment?—and go on from there.
2. We need not only to *preserve* and *protect* the environment (e.g. from damaging exploitation, pollution, etc.) but also to *enhance* it so as to improve the quality of life. In what ways could the environment of our community be enhanced? What can we do about it?
3. Try to get your newspaper, radio or television station, etc., to give reports about the United Nations Conference.
1. See: *UN Monthly Chronicle*, February 1971, p. 40-1.

Health

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care . . .

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

International co-operation in the field of health is the special responsibility of the World Health Organization (WHO). This organization has far-reaching objectives: 'The attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health'. Health is defined in WHO's Constitution as 'state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity'.

What are some objectives of WHO's work?

1. Better public health services;
2. Healthier environments;
3. Control or elimination of specific diseases;
4. Trustworthy medicines;
5. More medical knowledge through research;
6. World-wide dissemination of information about health.

Better public health services

WHO helps developing countries to train more *doctors, nurses, public health engineers, dentists, medical assistants*, and provides experts to help public health services.

A World map showing the ratio of doctors to population in some ways resembles a map showing average per-person income. The developed countries have many more doctors. A few countries have a ratio of one doctor to 500 people. A ratio of about 1 : 1,000 is typical for developed countries. In poorer countries with a long tradition of Western medicine the ratio is around 1 : 5,000. But people in the rural areas usually have a far more limited medical service than those in towns. In one Asian country with a national ratio of 1 : 7,000, the capital had one doctor to 1,000 inhabitants but elsewhere the ratio was often no more than 1 : 50,000.

If we set a target of one doctor to 1,000 persons, the world is about 2.5 million doctors short. To make matters worse, the world's population will probably double in thirty-five years, and it takes about six years to train a doctor. In nearly every country in the world there is a shortage of qualified nurses. Moreover, most nurses are concentrated in certain areas. The Americas and Europe, including the U.S.S.R. have between them almost three-quarters of the total, leaving one-quarter for the rest of Asia, Africa and Oceania.

WHO has given 40,000 fellowships so far to enable doctors, nurses and other health workers to study abroad. It has encouraged the setting up and improvement of schools for the health professions in many countries, especially by providing teachers for a certain length of time.

The lack of qualified health workers is no doubt the greatest obstacle to the improvement of world health. Accordingly practically all WHO activities have an educational component.

Healthier environments

Cleaning up the environment would prevent much sickness and save many lives. In the world as a whole about one hospital patient in four has a water or filth-borne disease; in developing countries, 90 per cent of the population in rural areas do not have an adequate supply of safe water. Cholera, which ravaged

Europe and America in the last century, has now invaded Africa, but it and many other diseases can be stopped by good water supplies, waste disposal and personal hygiene. WHO is helping eighty-two countries to improve their water supplies. It sends teams of experts and trains engineers, chemists and biologists in aspects of water supply and sewerage.

Control of diseases

Malaria has long been considered the most destructive of diseases. WHO started a campaign in 1955 to get rid of malaria completely. This is the largest public health campaign ever undertaken.

Some successes: of all the people now living in originally malarious areas, 80 per cent are protected. Malaria has been eradicated in 35 countries and territories. In India, 90 per cent of the population are living in areas that have been freed from transmission of malaria. But progress has been slow in some parts of the world, especially in Africa, south of the Sahara, where malaria is still a very serious and widespread disease.

It is transmitted by a mosquito that picks up the malaria parasite from one person and carries it to another. The principal method of attacking the disease is to use modern insecticides to kill the mosquitoes in places where they usually rest after biting a human being. Unfortunately, in certain areas, the malaria-carrying mosquito has become resistant to some insecticides. This is an obstacle to eradication and WHO is sponsoring research and organizing the evaluation of new insecticides and better ways of using them. More difficult to solve are the administrative and financial ills of the countries where malaria persists. Poverty, often the result of malaria, hampers eradication more than do technical problems. WHO and Unicef pay part of the cost for some poor countries, but it is not possible to start malaria-eradication campaigns without good basic public health services.

Investment in fighting disease pays off. For example: quinine for malaria used to cost Greece \$1,300,000; fighting the disease with DDT in the 1950s cost only \$300,000. Results: since 1960

no deaths have been reported, land has been reclaimed, labour is more productive, and the rate of malaria has dropped to zero.

Trustworthy drugs and antibiotics

When a doctor anywhere in the world prescribes an injection of penicillin or some other widely used medicament, he should be sure of its safety and strength. Many substances used in medicine, such as vaccines, hormones and antibiotics, cannot be assessed by chemical or physical tests alone and must be measured by their effects on animals and micro-organisms. Continuing the work of the League of Nations, WHO has arranged to provide, on request, through laboratories in England and Denmark, samples of internationally standardized biological substances to laboratories all over the world. In this way, laboratories can compare their products with the international standards.

WHO publishes the *International Pharmacopoeia* which contains specifications for over 500 pharmaceutical chemicals, thus facilitating production, analysis and quality control.

WHO has organized a system for monitoring the many new drugs launched on the market each year to check whether they cause dangerous side effects.

Another concern of WHO is determining why people take excessive quantities of dependence-producing drugs that may be dangerous to their health—like opium, cocaine, alcohol, etc.—what steps can be taken to prevent this, and how to rehabilitate users. In co-operation with the United Nations, WHO determines which drugs have dependence-producing qualities and should come under international control.

Research

Centres of research in many countries carry out studies that are internationally planned by the Advisory Committee on Medical Research, which is composed of distinguished scientists from many nations. Collective projects under way are concerned with

biology of human reproduction and genetics, leprosy, trachoma, sleeping sickness, schistosomiasis, pathology and distribution of cancers, heart diseases, influenza and pollution and many other subjects.

Cardiovascular diseases: A WHO study (in 1967) of twenty-three industrialized countries showed heart diseases as the leading cause of death. Some cardiovascular diseases are found everywhere, others only in certain geographic areas or among identifiable groups of people. Comparative studies are under way in Jamaica, the Polynesian Islands and Peru, among people living at high altitudes, and elsewhere. WHO also studies spontaneously occurring conditions in animals comparable to cardiovascular diseases in humans.

Cancer: This is the second leading cause of death in highly developed countries. In an attempt to discover its origin, WHO has initiated comparative studies. For example, since cancer also affects animals, comparative studies help in gaining an understanding of tumours as a biological phenomenon. The World Health Organization created the International Agency for Research on Cancer in Lyons, France, in 1965, which is particularly concerned with the environmental causes and the distribution of cancer.

Mental health: The old method of locking up mental patients is being replaced by active treatment, often using drugs, with the aim of permitting the patient to return to a normal, active life in the community as soon as possible. WHO studies the application of recent advances in the treatment of mental illness. Expert committees evaluate present knowledge of its causes, treatment and prevention. A pilot project is under way to study schizophrenia, one of the most serious mental illnesses, in different cultural settings.

International health regulations

WHO collects information on the outbreak of dangerous diseases and sends out warnings. Has a new kind of influenza appeared

somewhere? WHO sends word to public health authorities everywhere. When cholera was reported in several new countries in 1970 and 1971, WHO sent out all the official information it could obtain. Countries that are members of WHO undertake to report at once the occurrence of a number of internationally dangerous diseases, so that this service can be kept up. Every day WHO broadcasts the latest news.

WHO Member States have agreed on some rules about inoculation that international travellers must obey. If you ever travel from one country to another, you will probably carry, along with your passport, the International Certificate of Vaccination 'approved by the World Health Organization' which tells when and where and by whom you were vaccinated against such diseases as smallpox and cholera.

Smallpox is still a threat

A good example of international co-operation to control disease is provided by the work to eradicate smallpox. Smallpox is still one of the world's most feared diseases. Caused by a virus that is passed from man to man, it may spread anywhere in the world. No one is naturally immune. It kills 35 to 40 per cent of the persons it attacks. There is no treatment. Vaccination is the only means of protection, and through vaccination, smallpox has been wiped out in Europe, North and Central America as well as in many countries in other parts of the world. All countries maintain vaccination programmes as well as elaborate quarantine services to prevent entry and spread of the disease.

Eradication the only solution. The only way to make vaccination and revaccination unnecessary is to eliminate smallpox everywhere. As long as endemic areas remain in Asia, Africa and South America, the disease will be a threat to all countries. The incubation period is 12 to 14 days. During that time an infected traveller can move halfway round the world, pass through several border points, ports or airports, and develop symptoms only after reaching his destination. Before the disease is identified,

he may have been in contact with many people. Although he perhaps has a valid certificate of vaccination, he may not have been fully protected because the vaccine was poor or the vaccination technique faulty. Eradication of smallpox is one of the aims of WHO. Smallpox eradication is financed by the governments of endemic countries, aided by bilateral and multilateral funds which together contribute 15 to 25 per cent of the total cost. WHO spent more than \$3,000,000 on smallpox eradication in 1970.

Results to date. In 1970 about 32,000 cases of smallpox were reported throughout the world, which is a reduction of some 75 per cent compared with 1967 when there were 131,000 cases reported. The drop is all the more impressive since better reporting of cases is part of the eradication campaign. It is estimated that 1,000 million people live in the ten countries of the world where smallpox is still endemic. During 1970 approximately 200 million people were vaccinated.

Asia. In 1970, 85 per cent of the world's smallpox cases were reported from Asia, mainly in India, Indonesia, and Pakistan. India recorded just over 10,000 cases, the lowest number in its history and one state with a population of 40 million, Tamil Nadu (Madras), recorded no cases at all. Indonesia also recorded 10,000 cases but is not expected to report more than 2,000 in 1971.

Brazil. After intensive case detection efforts in 1969 which resulted in notification of 7,400 cases, Brazil reported less than 2,000 cases in 1970, and less than 20 in 1971. It is now believed that smallpox transmission has been interrupted in Brazil and the disease eliminated from the country.

Africa. After an intensive vaccination campaign in nineteen countries, West Africa has reported no smallpox cases since May 1970, and the Republic of Zaire, formerly a heavy focus of endemic smallpox, reported very few cases in 1971. Intensive eradication programmes are being conducted in Sudan and Ethiopia, and the latter country reported almost 50 per cent of the total number of cases in the world.

Vaccine. Increasing use of a stable freeze-dried smallpox vaccine that retains its potency under tropical conditions contributed to these results. WHO has defined vaccine quality standards and, with the co-operation of laboratories in Canada and the Netherlands, can test vaccines for producers. Almost all the vaccine now used in the endemic countries meets WHO standards; in the early days of the eradication campaign, not more than a quarter would have passed the test. WHO and Unicef are giving many countries technical and material assistance for vaccine production.

In most endemic countries, the need for freeze-dried vaccine still exceeds production capacity. Much of the gap is being filled through bilateral aid. The U.S.S.R. contributes 100 million doses annually; the United States 40 million. Brazil and Argentina gave several million doses for use elsewhere in the Americas, and twenty-eight WHO Member States made donations to the WHO Special Account for Smallpox Eradication.

New equipment now in use includes a jet injector that painlessly shoots vaccine into the skin as fast as the operator can pull the trigger, and a forked needle that increases the number of takes by 10 to 20 per cent. Vaccination has thus become easier, quicker, cheaper and more effective.

Questions for study and discussion

1. Why are the control of disease and the improvement of health considered to have *international* aspects?
2. In what ways is the problem of health related to problems mentioned in previous chapters on population, food and hunger, and environment?
3. What are the main health problems of your community? What public agencies and services deal with them?
4. Find out about some discoveries in medical science made in other countries which are, or might be, of help to your community.

Children

Unicef is the United Nations Children's Fund. It was created in December 1946 by the United Nations General Assembly to provide aid for the suffering children in war-devastated Europe. Today, though Unicef continues to respond swiftly to emergencies affecting children, most of its programmes are long-term operations closely related to the national development plans of individual countries.

Unicef works with the governments of 112 developing countries to help protect children from disease, malnutrition and other perils of the growing years and to prepare them for healthy, productive lives as adults. The global statistics of Unicef's activities reflect the magnitude of its task. The child population of the countries assisted by Unicef is 800 million. This number is expected to rise to more than 1,000 million by 1980.

In 1953 Unicef's mandate was extended to enable it to carry out its programmes in health, education and vocational training, family and child welfare, nutrition, and emergency aid in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as in Europe. The official name was shortened to the 'United Nations Children's Fund', but the well-known acronym 'Unicef' was retained (the original name was the 'United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund').

The Declaration of the Rights of the Child was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on 20 November 1959. It stated that 'mankind owes the child the best it has to give. . . . All children without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled

to these rights, without distinction or discrimination.' In a special resolution the General Assembly placed particular responsibility on Unicef to implement children's rights. It declared that 'the aid provided through the Fund constitutes a practical way of international co-operation to help countries carry out the aims proclaimed in the Declaration.'

In 1965 the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Unicef in recognition of the fact that its work on behalf of children was an important contribution to world brotherhood and peace. As Unicef entered the 1970s, its Executive Director, Henry R. Labouisse, proposed a target annual income of \$100 million by 1975. The United Nations Economic and Social Council endorsed this proposal in a resolution which stated that this increase would 'contribute materially more to the realization of the objectives of the Second Development Decade'.

Unicef's income in 1965 was \$33 million; in 1967, \$38.5 million; in 1970, \$59.4 million. The Organization's income consists entirely of voluntary contributions from governments and from private sources. In 1970, for example, \$42.3 million (of the total \$59.4 million) was donated by 124 governments. The remainder came from fund-raising campaigns, gifts, and the sale of greeting cards and calendars.

Can Unicef do much with such a small income? How?

Yes, Unicef accomplishes much with limited resources. That is why governments and private groups support it.

Unicef manages its funds thrifitly; spends little on administrative overheads; buys wholesale at best prices; keeps supplies in a central warehouse.

Unicef helps national projects which a particular country needs and invests its own money in these projects.

Recipient governments provide \$2.50 for every Unicef \$1.00 on the average.

Unicef works closely with other United Nations Agencies, which provide experts such as doctors, nurses, agricultural experts,

teacher-training specialists, and others who help plan particular projects.

Thus the benefit of Unicef's material aid and services is multiplied by being part of an integrated development programme.

What kind of help?

A major function of Unicef field staff is to help governments plan the most effective use of Unicef assistance within the context of the country's development plans. Unicef's aid consists mainly of *supplies* such as: drugs, health and nutrition education materials, milk, vitamins, paper, books, typewriters, projectors, well drilling rigs, water pumps, sewer piping, motor vehicles, bicycles, audio-visual teaching aids, play materials for day care centres, workshop equipment for vocational training, equipment for fishing and poultry-raising, garden tools, equipment for vaccine production, milk-processing and weaning foods production.

Other types of Unicef aid, such as training stipends, grants for seminars, and the financing of teaching staffs in national training schemes, are increasingly important.

Examples of Unicef's work

The years of greatest need. 'We were so happy to receive a labour and delivery bed. You surely will understand what an improvement it makes. May God reward those who have made such things possible'. (A letter from an African hospital.)

Only a small fraction of the population in most of the developing countries has any access to medical care. A major part of Unicef's efforts is devoted to the establishment or improvement of basic permanent health services, especially those for mothers and children in rural districts and city slums.

Some accomplishments since 1946. The most enduring effects of many programmes in which Unicef is participating are intan-

gible. The strengthening of the family, the emancipation of the mother, and the opening up of young minds to the contemporary world cannot be measured in quantitative terms. But the following accomplishments in the various fields of Unicef activity indicate what has been possible even with the Fund's limited resources and personnel:

Unicef has equipped close to 12,000 main rural health centres and 38,000 sub-centres in 132 countries, along with several thousand pediatric and maternity wards in hospitals.

Nearly 400 million children have been given BCG vaccinations against *Tuberculosis*. During 1970 alone, some 27 million children were protected from *malaria*. Some 415,000 children have been discharged as cured of *leprosy*. More than 425 million children were examined for *yaws*, and 23 million were treated. About 71 million children were examined for *trachoma*, a disease which causes blindness, and 43 million were treated.

In other fields Unicef provided equipment for more than 2,500 teacher-training schools and 56,000 associated primary and secondary schools. For young people, 965 pre-vocational training schools have been equipped, as well as thirty-one training institutions for instructors. Aid has also been given to 3,000 women's clubs, 2,500 day care centres, and some 3,000 child care centres, youth clubs and orphanages. In nutrition programmes, over 9,000 school gardens and canteens were aided. Over 4,000 nutrition centres, demonstration areas and community gardens have been equipped by Unicef. Nearly 600 training institutions for nutrition personnel have been assisted.

The students were the teachers. Several years ago, the Senegalese Government, assisted by Unicef together with WHO and FAO, launched a scheme for improved school diet. Thirty-two pilot canteens were organized, fifty demonstration gardens were set up, a training programme for teachers in ninety rural primary schools was established, and 5,000 children received, along with nourishing meals, practical knowledge of nutritional needs and ways of ensuring a healthy diet.

The aim? To give the children food for growth—and their elders food for thought. To reach the parents, through the

children, with the vital message of what could and should be done to improve the health and welfare of all.

The parents came to the canteens. They saw and were convinced. They learned that unfamiliar foods could be both good and good for them. Now the number of canteens and gardens will be increased, while educational activities will be spread to cover more and more territory.

With small expenditure, much will be accomplished.

Dispensing vitamins and hope. When a family earns less than \$2 a day, the question of survival itself is not a rhetorical one.

One such family is the Pramsorngnai family in Bangkok, Thailand, where mother, father and eight children are locked together in a frightening round of sickness and hunger. The father, Fua, works as a construction labourer for daily wages; his wife, Somchit, sells sugarcane juice in the market. Together they earn only 20 Bahts (\$1) a day—all of which is spent on food. Their two eldest sons, bring in an additional 30 cents, Sanguim, 13, by working in a noodle shop across the street from their home, and Boonlong, 11, by delivering newspapers.

Had the two youngest children—two year old twin boys named Lak and Yom—not fallen ill, little headway might have been made in the Pramsorngnai family's struggle.

A few months back, Mrs Pramsorngnai noticed that the boys did not sleep well at night and were running a fever. Worried, she began asking around of her neighbours who suggested that she take them to the Dindaeng Health Centre in the middle of Bangkok.

At the health centre, a woman doctor listened sympathetically to Mrs Pramsorngnai and then examined the twins. She found both suffering from extreme protein vitamin A deficiency, so badly, in fact, that they were in danger of losing their sight if left untreated.

A nurse was sent by the doctor to the Pramsorngnai home to see what kind of food Lak and Yom ate each day. She learned that the two boys had been given little else but rice since birth. Since they were the youngest in the family, they often did not

even get enough rice to stave off hunger. Most important of all, their diet was completely lacking in the kinds of nutritious foods youngsters need for growing bodies.

Two other pre-school youngsters, Sangat and Sangub, looked sickly as well. The only child in school was Saguan, a 9-year-old girl. Although there is compulsory primary education (four years) in Thailand, the two working boys, Sanguim and Boonlong, had dropped out after about two years of study. They had not had money to buy school uniforms, books, pencils and food. The nurse learned that another brother, Boonlue, 10, was living up-country with relatives.

The doctor moved quickly to get what help she could to the family. At the Dindaeng Health Centre, which Unicef supports with educational and health equipment, drugs and diet supplements, Mrs Pramsorngnai and her children were given medical attention and help, especially milk and vitamin A tablets, which are distributed to them now on a regular basis. The twins have begun to show marked improvement.

Through the doctor, Mrs Pramsorngnai learned of the government's day-care centre at Rangam Road. The centre, which is also assisted by Unicef, now cares for Sangat and Sangub. They spend their days there getting one good meal a day, and playing with Unicef educational toys. The centre normally charges 1 Baht (5 cents) per day, but this has been waived in the case of the Pramsorngnais.

The big 'E' in Unicef

Although its main emphasis is on long-range programmes within the context of national social and economic development plans, Unicef continues to react to disasters. When trouble strikes, Unicef's first step is to provide immediate relief, to save lives. Once the emergency operations are completed, Unicef's main task begins, that of reconstruction and rehabilitation of permanent health and education services for children. In recent years Unicef has been active in emergency and post-emergency work in Nigeria, Jordan, Peru, India and what is now Bangladesh.

In Nigeria, for example, following the thirty-month civil war, Unicef helped to re-roof nearly 320 primary and secondary schools, to equip 1,000 primary and 150 secondary schools, teacher-training colleges, hospitals and rural health centres. Unicef also distributed almost 2 million textbooks to students in 1,500 primary and secondary schools. Almost \$13 million has been committed for Unicef aid to Nigeria since 1970.

In Jordan, where many thousands of mothers and children were affected by the heavy fighting which broke out in September 1970, Unicef helped to re-equip maternity and pediatric wards in hospitals, maternal and child health centres, elementary and intermediate schools, and social welfare centres.

The earthquake and landslides of 31 May 1970 in Peru claimed the lives of more than 500,000 men, women and children. It virtually obliterated all services for children and mothers in the stricken area and made hundreds of thousands homeless. Unicef committed \$1.5 million for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of integrated services for pre-school children, community centres, health services and environmental sanitation programmes.

One of the greatest natural tragedies on record occurred in East Pakistan on 12 November 1970, when a cyclone and tidal wave of unprecedented intensity struck the southern coast and offshore islands. It is estimated that more than half a million people drowned in the disaster. Most of the year's crop of rice was destroyed. Unicef rushed relief supplies to the area. They included rice, tents, blankets, special children's foods, and equipment to purify water.

In the same area, civil strife broke out in March 1971. As a result, one of the largest population movements in history took place as 8 million people crossed the border into India's north-eastern region. These refugees flowed into temporary camps, set up by the Government of India. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Unicef, WHO, World Food Programme, and other members of the United Nations family carried on a co-ordinated programme of assistance to the refugees which concentrates on shelter, special children's foods, medical supplies, transport and water supply equipment.

Each year seems to bring enough emergencies to divert Unicef from its principal task, that of implementing its long-range programmes. But, of course, Unicef is bound by its mandate from the General Assembly to respond to any crisis involving children. At the heart of Unicef policy is the conviction that a nation's tomorrow depends upon its most precious treasure —its children. Unicef has contributed to the growing awareness among government leaders and international organizations that development concerns, first and foremost, people (including children) and not just physical resources. The young are not only the beneficiaries of development; they are the principal contributors to it if they are adequately prepared.

Thus, Unicef, which had its origin in the humanitarian impulse to help save the lives of children in war-ravaged Europe, now plays an important role in long-term national development serving what United Nations Secretary-General U Thant has called 'the noblest purpose of all: protecting and enriching the lives of children upon whom the future of all mankind depends'.

Questions for study and discussion

1. For what reasons was Unicef awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965?
2. 'Mankind owes to the child the best it has to give. . . .' 'All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination. . . .' What are the rights of the child; are they applied in your country?
3. Discuss some of the objectives of the Second Development Decade and how Unicef is contributing towards the achievement of those goals in education, in health, etc.
4. What are the possibilities for Unicef action in disaster-stricken areas? Do you know of any specific examples which you can discuss?

The advancement of education, science and culture

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) was founded in the immediate post-Second World War era, when vast and urgent problems confronted the war-devastated countries: rebuilding shattered educational systems; re-opening cultural institutions like museums and libraries which had been scattered and pillaged; restoring lines of communication among scientists, educators, writers and artists which had been cut by nationalist policies encouraging hatred and mistrust. One of the first tasks of the newly conceived Unesco was thus to begin a relief and reconstruction programme in the fields of education, science and culture.

The problem of rehabilitation, however, was only one of many facing the world at that time and in the wake of decolonization Unesco acquired new Members who faced greater difficulties: picking up the scattered threads of intellectual endeavour began to look a small task when compared with building up schools, libraries, communication systems and cultural institutions where virtually none had existed before. Julian Huxley, the first Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission of Unesco (later the first Director-General of Unesco), explained to the delegates at the first session of the General Conference of Unesco that '... There are other nations... where the educational and scientific level is also low, not through their own fault or as a result of war, but through the accidents of history and geography. In Asia, in South America, in Africa, there are huge regions where the majority are still illiterate, where educational facilities are open only to a small minority'

of children, where universities are few or non-existent, where science—medical, agricultural, chemical, mechanical, electrical—has scarcely begun to be applied, where the indigenous arts and crafts are in danger of dying and of being replaced by a shoddy or debased brand of western culture.'

Thus Unesco adopted a problem approach programme from the beginning, '... a programme for equalization—an equalization upwards, to enable the nations that have been less favoured, either in war or peace to take their places as equals in a single world advance'.¹ The over-all principle governing the activities was at that time, and is today, that they should be directed towards the creation of One World; if peace were to be maintained, it would have to be done by fostering goodwill and understanding among the peoples of the world. The positive function of building peace in the minds of men through education, science and culture, became the prevailing task of the Organization. As René Maheu, Director-General of the Organization since 1962, has pointed out: education, science, culture and communication are not ends in themselves for Unesco, but simply ways and means of a spiritual undertaking and moral effort that constitutes its true mission.

This mission involves Unesco in a continuous response to the needs and problems of a world which is constantly changing; it also implies that Unesco is called upon to undertake an immense range of activities. In fact, its name does not cover all its fields of activities. It is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. But the word culture covers activities in social and human sciences; moreover, the title does not mention communication, an area in which Unesco has been active since the beginning, nor the development of international standards and agreements in various matters—such as the Geneva Convention on Copyright—which is one of its most important tasks.

Unesco's Regular Budget is about \$60 million a year and it

1. Report on the Work of the Preparatory Commission by the Executive Secretary, Sir Julian Huxley, at the first General Conference of Unesco.

gets about \$50 million from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for projects in developing countries.

This does not allow much money for any one part of its work. Nevertheless, Unesco plays an important role in efforts to deal with world problems which fall within its competence—and these are numerous. Some of them are mentioned below.

Education

The crisis in education. The powerful idea that everyone has a right to education has spread through the world in the last twenty-five years. It has been accompanied by a steady expansion of education. Between 1950 and 1965, the number of teachers in the world increased from 8 to 16 million. In that time school enrolment also increased, for example, by 80 per cent in India, and 42 per cent in Iran. Between 1960 and 1967 enrolment increased from $8\frac{1}{2}$ million students to 13 million in the Arab countries. In Latin America, in that same period, the number of pupils entering primary education increased by 12 million. Countries increased their investment in education and brought primary enrolments up from less than half the children of primary school age to between 87 and 95 per cent.

The democratization of education, making it available to everybody as a right, instead of to a few as a privilege, is one of Unesco's main concerns. The shortage of qualified teachers, of school buildings, of school textbooks and of the funds to pay for them are part of the problems involved in the democratization process. And as these needs have been partially met, attention has come to be focused on the large number of drop-outs and repeaters (children who stay in the same class for two or more years) which were dangerously raising the costs of education. Developing countries now commonly spend 20 per cent and more of their national budget on education and experience has not proved that they can be sure of their returns: in one country figures show that less than 2 per cent of the children who entered first grade in 1968 were likely to complete their full 13 years of schooling, while 50 per cent of the 37,000 enrolled

would not even finish primary school. Drop-outs in this case increase the cost of education while repeaters have become so numerous in some developing countries that the per head costs of education have become progressively higher than those of developed countries. These facts—with the added problem that an 'educated unemployed' was being produced for whom no suitable jobs could be found—made it imperative to consider what might be called the productivity of education.

As the Director-General of Unesco has pointed out, the current rapid demographic, technological, intellectual and moral changes demand that the problem of educational reform be solved if man is to understand and, to some degree control, the process of change. In his words, the situation is a crisis of civilization. Addressing the third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for economic planning in Asia in May 1971, Mr Maheu said:

In Asia, as in other regions of the world, the new needs are polarized around the twin ideas of democratization and development, taking this latter term in the sense of the full use of human resources to carry out the great economic and social transformation set in motion during the last few years by the 'green revolution' and the progress of industrialization. If it is to contribute to the success of this venture, education must, on the one hand, meet society's need for qualified personnel at different levels—which will be the measure of its external efficiency—while, on the other, it must modify its own internal system, by adding the promotion of an openness to change to its traditional function of the transmission and reproduction of acquired knowledge and ideas. Democratization no doubt means wider opportunities for education, giving equal chances to children from towns and from country districts without distinction of sex, social origin or race, but it also implies educational reform which will make it possible for education to offer in greater measure what young people with varying needs and differing aspirations require in order to develop. . . . Of course, education is not alone responsible for the unemployment now rife among young graduates and school leavers . . . but it cannot be denied that the planning and the content of education are among the factors involved; both clearly need to be closely re-examined *from the point of view of employment possibilities.*

The brief for the reform of education is thus a wide one and Unesco's response is many-sided. For example, the techniques of systems analysis can be used to examine the 'productivity' of education, by regarding the system as a system with interacting parts that produce their own 'indicators' of whether the interaction is working well or not; the Organization is currently promoting studies which apply the methods of modern management to what is, not least in extent and expenditure, a very large industry.

Such techniques are used in educational planning, which Unesco began systematically in 1961, as a way of ensuring that education was given its proper place in development. The battle to gain recognition for human factors in development has now largely been won, as Unesco's co-operation with the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and other funding organizations proves. It was also in some measure thanks to planning that the qualitative factors in education regained their rightful place after the initial emphasis on more and more education for more and more people. In its current programme 1971-72 Unesco is committed to spend some \$2,800,000 to promote research and training in educational planning and administration through underwriting studies and supporting regional planning institutes.

Another approach aimed at meeting the crisis in education was begun in 1970, when a seven-man international commission was set up to study strategies for developing educational systems region by region and to prepare a report which may help countries in their own planning. Unesco's programmes for and with youth are part of this effort, as are such specialized activities as the sending of mobile teams of experts to help Member States develop school curricula more relevant to their needs and the promotion of new techniques in the teaching process.

The battle for literacy. Despite massive campaigns and a gradual reduction in the *percentage* of illiterates in the world, their *absolute number* has been rising as a result of increased populations. Unesco estimates show that: In 1950, of 1,579 million adults, 700 million were illiterate;

In 1960, of 1,881 million adults, 740 million were illiterate; In 1970, of 2,287 million adults, 783 million were illiterate. In Africa and the Arab States eight out of ten adults can neither read nor write; in Asia five out of ten, and in Latin America approximately one out of four are illiterate. By sex, the figures are: 63 per cent of men and 83 per cent of women in Africa are illiterate; 60 per cent of men and 85 per cent of women in the Arab States; 37 per cent of men and 56 per cent of women in Asia; 19 per cent of men and 27 per cent of women in Latin America.

Accordingly, Unesco is continuing support for studies and 'micro-experiments' to seek a rapid and lasting cure for what has been called the last great scourge. An example of this kind of experimentation was the project in which a Brazilian mining company, the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, tackled production bottlenecks by giving workers literacy instruction which had been worked out with the aid of a computer.

But the whole Experimental World Literacy Programme, on which Unesco has been engaged since the mid-sixties, is, as its name implies, a far-ranging experiment—although the approach of 'functional' literacy instruction is now winning such widespread support that it bids fair to replace all traditional approaches to adult literacy instruction. Functional literacy instruction is based on combining job instruction with literacy, using the words and dealing with the subjects which are part of the pupil's work. However, it is more than merely teaching people to read 'The cog is on the gear wheel' instead of 'The cat sat on the mat'. Since a Unesco-convened conference of Ministers at Teheran in 1965 recognized that literacy and economic development should be tackled as a single process, functional literacy projects in Unesco's programme have all been tied in to development projects.

Studies have shown that there is a calculable difference between the productivity of literates and illiterates; without literacy, workers usually have little grasp of abstract reasoning, of time or measurement, and so are not geared for development. Accordingly, the fifteen pilot projects of the Experimental World Literacy Programmes are part and parcel of larger development

projects, particularly for raising agricultural production or for training industrial workers. The projects are in Afghanistan, Algeria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guinea, India, Iran, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tanzania, Venezuela and Zambia. They are funded in different ways—in one case entirely by the country concerned—but in all of them the national contribution far exceeds international aid. National interest in better production is obvious and functional literacy has the same appeal to the pupils. Since literacy is shown to increase their earnings they are keen to acquire it.

Evaluation of the results goes on continuously, but it will take some time before enough data have been assembled to show whether there has really been a breakthrough with the functional literacy approach; in the meantime there are encouraging signs of success. In Iran, for example, Unesco works in a country where there is a large and well-organized national campaign for literacy. The resources for the campaign in the Ispahan area were transferred to the functional literacy project so that it could take over the instruction of 30,000 more pupils.

What Unesco hopes to accomplish by the over-all programme is not a quick solution to a vast problem of illiteracy, but rather to focus attention on it, provide encouragement, demonstrate feasibility, and gradually arouse a firm resolve by the governments that illiteracy shall become, at most, a minor evil instead of a major plague.

Teacher training. Currently, Unesco's most widespread educational undertaking is in the field of teacher training. Of the 31 teacher training projects being carried out by Unesco and supported by the United Nations Development Programme, 22 are in Africa, where a continent-wide revolution is in progress—the transformation of predominantly agricultural communities, living in the economic shade of the colonial powers, into independent States able to maintain themselves in competition with the industrialized countries. What the developed countries achieved over a couple of centuries, the new States are trying to match in a much shorter time.

The existence of educated middle-level personnel makes the

difference between profiting from technological advance and, say, wasting the new strains of 'miracle' grains because they are not properly sown. Education is such a priority with African governments that they are prepared to spend up to a quarter of their revenue to get it. The United Nations and Unesco provide funds and expertise to help them to get it, concentrating efforts on the first step: training the teachers needed.

The shortage of qualified teachers is a common problem but the methods for attacking it vary. For example, in Cameroon, the aim is to provide trained teachers able to bring new enthusiasm and new agricultural techniques to rural villages and brake the drift to the towns; in the Ivory Coast the object is to build up a system of educational television and a corps of teachers to use it and thus move straight into a country-wide and effective way of primary instruction. In Tanzania, the Unesco project supported by funds from UNDP and the Tanzanian Government aims at the provision of science teachers for secondary schools through a university course. Today Tanzanian undergraduates are pledged to teach for at least five years after passing examinations.

Promoting teacher training is a world-wide activity and a continuing priority because the teacher is a key element in any development plan. Through him flow the ideas, the knowledge and the skills which can make technical progress of use to human well-being. But the teachers are in short supply. That is why Unesco is engaged in teacher training projects ranging across the map and the alphabet, from Colombia to Kenya, from Afghanistan to Zambia, and is in the process of adding a dozen or more teacher training projects to its world-wide operation under its current programme.

Education for the Palestinian refugees. Unesco has been working with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for twenty years to provide education for Palestinian refugees. Begun on a makeshift basis to give displaced and destitute children something of their rights to education, this co-operation grew into the largest operation under international control in the whole field of education.

UNRWA has set up over 500 schools, while Unesco, under an agreement with the agency, has provided technical assistance. The joint programme, which became as large as many national educational systems while spread over a population scattered in Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Lebanon and the Gaza Strip, overcame numerous difficulties to achieve its first goal of providing primary education. By 1967, 90 per cent of the refugee children were entering primary school. By 1970, 192,000 children were being received in joint UNRWA-Unesco schools at this level while 35,000 more were receiving subsidies to attend other public and private schools. At the secondary level there were 53,000 at the joint schools with another 30,000 on subsidized study elsewhere and 2,500 receiving technical training. University scholarships were being provided for a further 800.

In addition to outbreaks of shooting during the operation, other difficulties have involved Unesco in long and patient negotiations. An Israeli ban stopped the import of certain Arabic textbooks and Arabic school-leaving examinations were halted for students in the Gaza Strip after the Six-Day War of 1967. By early 1971, approved Arabic texts, worked out by Unesco experts, had nearly all been admitted, while personal negotiations by Unesco's Director-General led to three examinations being held under Unesco auspices in Gaza. Papers which had been set in Cairo were flown in under seal and answered by candidates under Unesco supervision. Sealed packets of answer papers were flown out again by Unesco officials for marking in Cairo. In this way, 23,000 students have sat for their matriculation examination in two years and 2,000 students who had been admitted to Egyptian universities were moved across the Suez Canal in a truce arranged by the Red Cross.

Science

Studying the oceans. We move now into another area of Unesco work: the natural sciences. One of the important tasks in which it participates is that of extending knowledge of the oceans, which constitute one of the last unknown frontiers on the planet.

Working through an Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) which it set up in 1960, Unesco is co-ordinating a global programme of research on oceanography with sixty-five co-operating nations providing ships, planes and scientists for investigations costing between \$10–20 million a year.

Why is such co-ordinated research necessary? In purely scientific terms, although 70 per cent of the earth's surface is ocean, in some respects less is known about it than is known about the surface of the moon. In technical terms, because oceanography has undergone the same quantitative expansion as other sciences in the last twenty years. The hourly rate of collecting basic data such as salinity and temperature has increased 200 times and the need to avoid duplication of effort has become more pressing. And in purely practical terms, because study of the oceans may yield the secret of weather changes and make possible accurate predictions which would save vast sums for farmers and holidaymakers as well as seamen; because the sea may contain the protein which, properly husbanded, would feed millions who are now undernourished; because, on the other hand, the sea could become a watery desert if overfished; because—as disasters such as the *Torrey Canyon* wreck have taught—the sea may become as much and more polluted as the rest of the biosphere and become a source not of life, but of death.

Unesco helps to finance the running of IOC, which has become responsible for co-ordinating the expanded programme of exploration and research called for by the General Assembly of the United Nations; it also provides advice to the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed. It was set up 'to promote scientific research with a view to learning more about the nature and resources of the ocean' but this does not mean that its work can have academic importance alone. Great stockpiles of mineral wealth have been discovered at the bottom of the Red Sea by research ships passing through for the International Indian Ocean Expedition. They are estimated to contain metals worth around \$2,300 million. Other examples: in 1963, fourteen ships from eight countries studied

the effect of changes in ocean currents on fish yields in the tropical zone of the Atlantic; in 1964, eight ships from six countries began a study of the Kuroshio Current, the Western Pacific's equivalent of the Gulf Stream, again to see how its variations affected weather and fisheries.

The co-ordinating work of IOC also covers the publication of atlases, exchange of data and intercalibration of instruments necessary to make the international effort a cohesive whole.

The biggest single task currently being undertaken in oceanography is the development of an Integrated Global Ocean Station System (IGOSS), agreed upon in 1969 between IOC and the World Meteorological Organization, which, like the Food and Agriculture Organization, has its own interest in oceanography. The plan for IGOSS provides for 1,000 stations in an observation network to collect data on such things as temperature and salinity at the surface and at depth; waves and swell, speed and direction of currents and of winds; atmospheric pressure and net solar radiation.

One fruit of IGOSS may be much improved weather forecasting based on oceanic observations, already used with success in limited areas in the North Atlantic. IGOSS, when its network is finally established across the oceans of the world, will represent an immense harnessing of skills and resources in the service of mankind as a whole.

The arid lands, hydrology and the biosphere. From 1948, Unesco undertook to co-ordinate international research into the world's arid zones—which account for one-third of its land surface. This arid zone project was undertaken because of the importance of applying the result of scientific research to improving living conditions in Member States where there are large arid regions. Between 1957 and 1962 this undertaking constituted one of the Organization's major projects. Hundreds of scientists from some forty countries collaborated, notably in twenty international seminars dealing with items of common interest such as hydrology, problems of salinity, climatology, solar and aeolian energy, vegetable, human and animal ecology, etc. The reports of these

meetings as well as other reports of studies and research have been collected into twenty-eight volumes. A dozen institutions received financial assistance under the programme.

The International hydrological Decade, launched by Unesco in 1965, is actually an extension of the above programme, which was also one of the origins of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Biosphere, held in September 1968. This conference, attended by 240 delegates from sixty-three countries and ninety observers from international organizations, was the first meeting of representatives of governments to study, at a world-wide level, the problems arising from over-exploitation of the earth's natural resources, which suffer increased damage daily as urbanization and pollution increase in the wake of the demographic explosion.

Natural disasters. The study and prevention of natural disasters—earthquakes, tsunamis (seismic sea waves), floods and volcanic eruptions—constitute another problem area in which Unesco is involved. Since the Organization had aided reconstruction in countries devastated by war, it was natural that it should also receive appeals from States which had suffered economic and social disruption through earthquakes, volcanic eruptions or floods. The programme that grew up in response to this demand was concerned first with the study of natural disasters and, increasingly, with the application of scientific knowledge to provide protection against them.

Science cannot prevent an earthquake or a typhoon but it can forecast *where* such events are likely and even, through monitoring networks of seismological or weather stations, provide some indication of *when*. It can also supply the data needed to design earthquake or wind-resistant buildings and thus help to prevent a natural phenomenon from becoming a human catastrophe.

Accordingly, Unesco has undertaken the collection and publication of data such as in the *Annual Summary of Information on Natural Disasters*. It has become concerned with the training of earthquake engineers and seismologists: more than 150 specialists from thirty-five developing countries have graduated from the UNDP-supported International Institute of Seismology

and Earthquake Engineering in Tokyo, for which Unesco is the executing agency.

Scientific information. The title UNISIST is only a convenient way of expressing a complex idea: through world co-operation will grow an information system, both scientific and technical, which will eventually pool the knowledge of every nation. The need for such a system is obvious. Researchers in one part of the world are cut off from those in another, because, although they may have their own information system—libraries, archives of reports, even computers to collate the contents—the systems simply do not communicate well enough with each other. Since knowledge is now increasing so fast that in some specialities the span of a whole lifetime is not long enough to keep up, the lack of information is causing duplication and wasted effort on a scale which seriously brakes progress.

That is the problem. The solution, on which Unesco is now working in a joint project with the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), involves many stages, starting with deciding on the shape of a common information system.

A Unesco/ICSU investigation which began in 1967 showed that a world-wide information system was feasible but that a monolithic central bureau would be unworkable. What was needed was a way of linking the world's existing but scattered information services so that they could exchange information. Since then progress has already been made in improving the standardization of symbols to enable scientists in different parts of the world first to trace and then to understand each other's publications, but this is not the main problem. Even in mathematics or organic chemistry, which have a kind of international language, computers cannot always exchange information, for they frequently work to different norms and exchange is mechanically blocked. The experts decided that what was needed was a decentralized system like the international telephone network, whereby a caller can automatically reach a number in another country because telephone systems have accepted international norms.

Standardization of computer techniques is one of the first

major barriers and will call for intensive study and equally intense collaboration. Accordingly, Unesco's programme provided for a series of expert meetings plus an intergovernmental conference in 1971 to recommend the ways in which Member States of the Organization can play an active role in building up UNISIST. It also provided for help, through expert missions and pilot studies, for developing countries who might otherwise be barred from joining the UNISIST club. Not the least hope of UNISIST is that it will prevent the technological gap between industrialized countries and the Third World from widening.

Culture

One of the great problems of today is making available to as many as possible the artistic endeavours of all ages. Unesco has taken pains to make the works of the mind known to the widest possible public. In the case of the plastic arts, the 'museum without walls' is the solution that has been adopted, with two catalogues of colour reproductions of paintings; with the organization of nine travelling exhibitions of reproductions which have been or are being shown in some one hundred countries, and with the publication, in the *Unesco Collection of World Art*, of twenty-three large albums drawing attention to works that are still too little known despite their importance for the history of art, whether they are found in, for example, Australia, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Romania or the Arab Republic of Egypt. In order to place them within reach of the public at large, Unesco has arranged for the production of forty-eight series of colour slides and thirty-eight pocket editions, representing a total run of close to 4 million, devoted to the same subjects. These cover artistic creations as varied as African tribal masks, Matisse's nudes, Himalayan art and Irish illuminated manuscripts.

Similar efforts are being devoted to literature. Each year, additions are made to the *Unesco Collection of Representative Works* which now comprises books from some sixty different literatures. In this way, works are placed in circulation which the ordinary publisher would hesitate to have translated, either

because of the difficulties and cost involved or because of the limited market and slow sales possibilities. Unesco also publishes the *Index Translationum*, an annual international bibliography of translations.

Finally, while encouraging the use of cultural films in museums, universities and libraries, the Organization has, for the past fifteen years, lent its support to the International Tribune of Composers, which is designed to promote, by means of radio, the exchange of contemporary musical works. Unesco has already prepared two anthologies—one of Oriental music and one of African music.

Protection of the cultural heritage. Unesco's best-known achievement in the preservation of cultural monuments was the rescue of the artistic treasures of twenty-five temples in Nubia and the transportation, stone by stone, of the two outstanding temples of Abu Simbel and their reconstruction on a new site. This operation, carried out with funds contributed by fifty countries, was necessary and urgent because the temples were threatened by the waters of the Aswan Dam. Venice, menaced by a combination of factors including the effect of tides, atmosphere pollution and the drift of population away from the city of canals, is now the object of a great international salvage effort co-ordinated by Unesco.

No such dramatic fate threatens Borobudur, the great temple in Central Java, Indonesia. But unless urgent action is taken, the whole perfect design, which can be ranked with the Parthenon, St Peter's and the Taj Mahal, is doomed to crumble. The foundations of Borobudur are nothing but a mound of earth and waste stone material, poured into the spaces between what were three separate hills by the builders of the Sailendra kings in the eighth century.

For more than a millennium, monsoon rains, sometimes falling as heavily as 15 mm in five minutes, have beaten on the temple, seeping through the joints of the façade and the unmortared cracks between the paving stones to wash away the earth which sustains the whole massive structure. Now the northern half of the lower terraces leans crazily outwards, and if they collapse

they will bring down the whole in an avalanche. Furthermore, the moisture has encouraged the growth of moss and lichen which eat away the surface of the sculptures like a disease.

This is the situation which led the Government of Indonesia to ask Unesco for help in preserving the monument, since the restoration carried out by the Dutch engineer Theodor Van Erp in 1907 and the emergency measures of the Indonesians themselves have only delayed the decay of Borobudur. Radical and costly measures were shown to be needed and Indonesia, as a developing country, could not underwrite them on its own.

In 1968, Unesco sent a French archaeologist and a Dutch geologist on a mission which confirmed that a long-term solution was necessary. The next year a mission composed of two consultant Dutch engineers and a French woman specialist in stone deterioration made a detailed investigation and proposed a rescue plan estimated to cost \$5.5 million. This provides for the entire dismantling of the lower terraces and their reconstruction on concrete rafts over a drainage system to conduct away the threatening water. While this is going on, the mission recommended, the stones should be examined by experts to see if they needed special treatment once a working drainage system had reduced the harmful moisture.

For this work, the Indonesian Government has pledged \$1 million, while other Member States promised to help. Unesco itself undertook to mobilize international assistance (as it had done for the monuments of Nubia and is doing for those of Philae on the Nile and the sites of the Euphrates Valley) and also to provide equipment and consultants.

This project, if it succeeds, will save a glory of human creativity for future generations. It will also fit into the pattern of Indonesia's economic progress, allowing Borobudur to become a major attraction for a developing tourist industry.

Rescue operations like those of Nubia or Borobudur are made dramatic by the evident race against time but they would have only a limited meaning without the long-term projects in Unesco's cultural programme. These include the slow tasks of working out and promoting international instruments to preserve mankind's cultural heritage, such as the 1954 Convention on the

Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and the 1970 Convention which aims to prevent the illicit export, import and transfer of cultural property through a number of international measures, the most striking feature of which is perhaps the institution of a form of 'passport' without which items of cultural value cannot legally be acquired abroad.

Communications

Mass communication. In the field of mass communications, one of Unesco's chief activities has been to help in developing professional training for journalists. As early as 1949, it published its first study on this matter. With decolonization, the need for professionally trained journalists grew, for the media in the colonies had largely been run by expatriates *for* expatriates. The newly independent countries could not afford for their journalists to become qualified by the time-honoured and time-consuming method of 'learning while doing the job'—they had to be trained, and quickly. Accordingly, the International Centre for Higher Education in Journalism, started with Unesco assistance at Strasbourg in 1957, began in 1960 to hold training courses for journalists from developing countries as well as to organize seminars at which journalists from East and West, developing and developed countries, could meet to discuss professional problems. A centre for Latin America, set up at Quito in 1959, began courses for teachers of journalism in the region and undertook a study of what they taught: within ten years the number of schools of journalism in the region doubled. Two Unesco-supported centres now provide training for African journalists: the Dakar Centre of Studies in Mass Communication Sciences and Techniques founded in 1965, for French-speaking Africans, and the School of Journalism at University College, Nairobi, established in 1970, for journalists from English-speaking countries. In 1965 an Institute for Mass Communication was created at Manila and this too began regional seminars to contribute to the development of information media in Asia.

When Unesco began work in this field, few of the developing

countries had adequate news media and they lacked the agencies which provide both newspapers and radio with their flow of news. In 1950, there was only one news agency on the African continent; in 1970 there were twenty-seven. Unesco has been concerned with this growth (and with the parallel expansion in Asia, where the number rose from nineteen to twenty-four in ten years). It organized the regional meetings which led to the formation of the Union of African News Agencies and the Organization of Asian News Agencies in 1963 and has also sent expert missions to help Member States, including Libya, Cameroon, Nepal and Malaysia, to set up their own national news agencies. Through the regional centres of Strasbourg and Dakar it has also helped to give training to news agency journalists.

Space communications. Space communication was written into Unesco's programme as long ago as 1960, when the General Conference resolved that satellites could 'enable educational programmes covering vast areas to be disseminated'. Since then, various activities have provided for the promotion of the use of space communication for education, science and culture. Unesco has sent missions to India and the Arab States to investigate the use of satellites for educational television and has undertaken a feasibility study for a proposed regional system in Latin America. For instance, India, on the basis of some successful experiments in televised instruction to farmers, asked Unesco's assistance in preparing a project to use television for both in-school and out-of-school education giving special emphasis to agricultural development, health and family planning. With a satellite, instructional programmes could be beamed nation-wide but until such a time as a communication satellite is launched, the programme would be starting from a single transmitting centre in Delhi with correspondingly small production and studio technical staffs. Accordingly, it was proposed to build up to fifteen new television centres and to train the necessary staff, 200 of whom would be needed every year in the first five years of the scheme, by adding a television training wing to the existing Film Institute of India at Poona.

Unesco experts, together with specialists from the Food and

Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization, made a survey and prepared a scheme for a three-year project involving \$1,147,000 from the United Nations Development Programme and more than \$8 million from the Indian Government. Under this, first priority was to go to providing a conversion course to train technicians from India's well-developed cinema industry as staff for the first two television centres. After this, using the extended Poona Institute, it was planned to give short courses for personnel with experience and diploma courses of complete training for new entrants.

Questions for study and discussion

1. Everyone has the right to education. What are some of the problems in making education available to all?
2. Discuss this statement: 'Education must be re-examined from the point of view of employment possibilities'.
3. 'Education has not yet succeeded in arriving at its own definition either of the new aims it should pursue in view of the major changes taking place in our civilization, or of the new means of procedures to be adopted.' Define in your own terms, for your own local context, what the aims of education might be and what types of new procedures could be adopted to achieve these aims.
4. Is the following part of the Declaration of Human Rights carried out in your country? 'Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.'
5. Can you find out the percentage of illiterates in your country? If it is high, do you feel you can do something to help others to learn to read and write?
6. What are the possible advantages of research in oceanography?
7. Why is it important to have co-ordinated research in science?
8. In what ways do you learn about other cultures in your school? What aspects of other cultures do you find most interesting? In what way is your own culture indebted to other cultures?
9. Do you know of any ancient monuments in your country which

The advancement of education,
science and culture

are in ruins and which should be preserved? If so, is there something you can do on the local level to make people aware of this and to take appropriate action?

10. What advantages can you see in the use of satellites in education? What are some of the possible disadvantages?

Background material

States Members of the (as of 10 November 1972) United Nations

Afghanistan	Cyprus
Albania	Czechoslovakia ¹
Algeria	Dahomey
Argentina ¹	Denmark ¹
Australia ¹	Dominican Republic ¹
Austria	Ecuador ¹
Bahrain	Egypt ¹
Barbados	El Salvador ¹
Belgium ¹	Equatorial Guinea
Bhutan	Ethiopia ¹
Bolivia ¹	Finland
Botswana	Fiji
Brazil ¹	France ¹
Bulgaria	Gabon
Burma	Gambia
Burundi	Ghana
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic ¹	Greece ¹
Cameroon	Guatemala ¹
Canada ¹	Guinea
Central African Republic	Guyana
Chad	Haiti ¹
Chile ¹	Honduras ¹
China ¹	Hungary
Colombia ¹	Iceland
Congo	India ¹
Costa Rica ¹	Indonesia
Cuba ¹	Iran ¹
	Iraq ¹

1. Original Member State.

Ireland	Poland ¹
Israel	Portugal
Italy	Qatar
Ivory Coast	Romania
Jamaica	Rwanda
Japan	Saudi Arabia ¹
Jordan	Senegal
Kenya	Sierra Leone
Khmer Republic	Singapore
Kuwait	Somalia
Laos	South Africa ¹
Lebanon ¹	Spain
Lesotho	Sri Lanka
Liberia ¹	Sudan
Libyan Arab Republic	Swaziland
Luxembourg ¹	Sweden
Madagascar	Syrian Arab Republic ¹
Malawi	Tanzania
Malaysia	Thailand
Maldives Islands	Togo
Mali	Trinidad and Tobago
Malta	Tunisia
Mauritania	Turkey ¹
Mauritius	Uganda
Mexico ¹	Ukrainian Soviet
Mongolia	Socialist Republic ¹
Morocco	Union of Soviet
Nepal	Socialist Republics ¹
Netherlands ¹	United Arab Emirates
New Zealand ¹	United Kingdom
Nicaragua ¹	of Great Britain and Northern Ireland ¹
Niger	United States of America ¹
Nigeria	Upper Volta
Norway ¹	Uruguay ¹
Oman	Venezuela ¹
Pakistan	Yemen
Panama ¹	Democratic Yemen
Paraguay ¹	Yugoslavia ¹
Peru ¹	Zaire
Philippines ¹	Zambia

Charter of the United Nations

We the peoples of the United Nations determined
to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which
twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind,
and
to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity
and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men
and women and of nations large and small, and
to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the
obligations arising from treaties and other sources of interna-
tional law can be maintained, and
to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger
freedom,
and for these ends
to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another
as good neighbours, and
to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security,
and
to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution
of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the
common interest, and
to employ international machinery for the promotion of the
economic and social advancement of all peoples,
have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims
Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives
assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited
their full powers found to be in good and due form, have
agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do
hereby establish an international organization to be known
as the United Nations.

*Chapter I
Purposes and principles*

Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.
7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

*Chapter II
Membership*

Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.
2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the

Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter III
Organs

Article 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.
2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

Chapter IV
The General Assembly

Composition

Article 9

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.
2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Functions and powers

Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.
2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such question to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.
3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.
4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendations with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:
 - (a) promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;
 - (b) promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.
2. The further responsibilities, functions, and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.
2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.
2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.
3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

Voting

Article 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.
3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Article 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

Procedure

Article 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter V
The Security Council

Composition

Article 23¹

1. The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General
1. Text as amended, General Assembly, December 1963.

Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.
3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

Functions and powers

Article 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.
2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.
3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments

of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

Voting

Article 27¹

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.
3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Procedure

Article 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.
2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.
3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

1. Text as amended, General Assembly, December 1963.

Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

Chapter VI
Pacific settlement of disputes

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.
2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.
2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.
3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.
2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.
3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.
2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Chapter VII

*Action with respect to threats
to the peace, breaches of the peace,
and acts of aggression*

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.
2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.
3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.
2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.
3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.
4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.
2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the

United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Chapter VIII
Regional arrangements

Article 52

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.
2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.
3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.
4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

Article 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.
2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

Article 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX
International economic and social
co-operation

Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

- (a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- (b) solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation, and
- (c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Article 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.
2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

Article 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.

Article 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

Chapter X
The Economic and Social Council

Composition

Article 61¹

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of twenty-seven Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.
2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, nine members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.
3. At the first election after the increase in the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty-seven members, in addition to the members elected in place of the six members whose term of office expires at the end of that year, nine additional members shall be elected. Of these nine additional members, the term of office of three members so elected shall expire at the end of one year, and of three other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.
4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

Functions and powers

Article 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.
2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.
3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.
4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the

1. Text as amended, General Assembly, December 1963.

United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

Article 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.
2. It may co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

Article 64

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.
2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

Article 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connexion with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.
2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

Voting

Article 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

Article 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

Article 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

Article 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate,

with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

Article 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Chapter XI
Declaration regarding
non-self-governing territories

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

- (a) to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- (b) to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- (c) to further international peace and security;
- (d) to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

- (e) to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

Chapter XII
International trusteeship system

Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- (a) to further international peace and security;
- (b) to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- (c) to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental

freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

(d) to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:
 - (a) territories now held under mandate;
 - (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
 - (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.
2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agree-

ments, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.
2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.
3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.
2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

Chapter XIII
The Trusteeship Council

Composition

Article 86

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:
 - (a) those Members administering trust territories;
 - (b) such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and
 - (c) as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.
2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

Functions and powers

Article 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- (a) consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- (b) accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;
- (c) provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- (d) take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

Voting

Article 89

- 1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.
- 2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

Article 90

- 1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
- 2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

Chapter XIV
The International Court of Justice

Article 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

Article 93

1. All Members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.
2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on condition to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 94

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.
2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

Article 95

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

Article 96

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.
2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

Chapter XV
The Secretariat

Article 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

Article 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

Article 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their

position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.
2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.
3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

Chapter XVI
Miscellaneous provisions

Article 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.
2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

Article 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its purposes.

Article 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes.
2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connexion with the Organization.
3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

Chapter XVII
Transitional security arrangements

Article 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Article 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

*Chapter XVIII
Amendments*

Article 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Article 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.
2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.
3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

*Chapter XIX
Ratification and signature*

Article 110

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.
2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory

states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.
4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

Article III

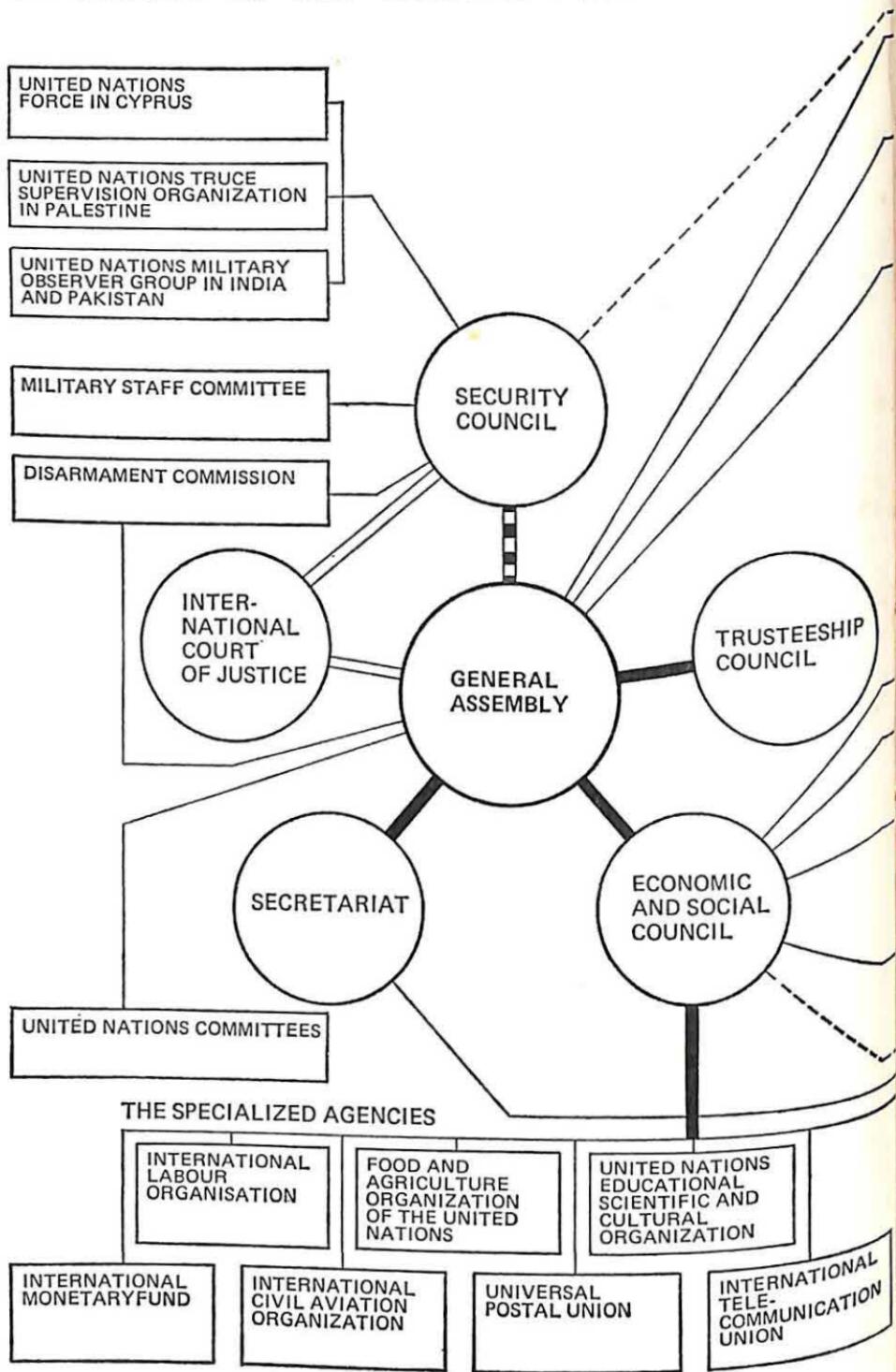
The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

In faith whereof the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter.

Done at the city of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.



Structure of the United Nations



INTERNATIONAL
ATOMIC ENERGY
AGENCY

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND
WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
REFUGEES

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION
FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

UNITED NATIONS
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND
(UNICEF)

OFFICE OF UNITED NATIONS HIGH
COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE
APPLICATION OF SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY TO DEVELOPMENT

COMMITTEE FOR
DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

WORLD HEALTH
ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT
ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONAL
BANK FOR
RECONSTRUCTION
AND
DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL
FINANCE
CORPORATION

WORLD
METEOROLOGICAL
ORGANIZATION

INTER-
GOVERNMENTAL
MARITIME
CONSULTATIVE
ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL
TRADE
ORGANIZATION
General Agreement
on Tariffs and Trade

Some useful publications for the teacher

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)
Via delle Terme di Caracalla,
00100 Rome, Italy.

Ceres—FAO Review. Illustrated bi-monthly magazine. English, French, Spanish.

Development—A Bibliography. A Selected Annotated Bibliography on Development. Rome, FAO, 1970. 126 pp. Bilingual: English-French.

FAO. What it is . . . Leaflet. English, French, Spanish.

The State of Food and Agriculture. Rome, FAO, 1947- . Annual review. English, French, Spanish.

World Food Programme. What it is . . . Leaflet. English, French, Spanish.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION (ILO)
International Labour Office,
CH 1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.

Activities of the ILO, 1970. (International Labour Conference, 56th Session, 1971, Report of the Director-General/Part 2.) Geneva, ILO, 1971. 66 pp. English, French.

Fighting Discrimination in Employment and Occupation, a Workers' Education Manual. Geneva, ILO, 1968. 208 pp. English, French.

Freedom by Dialogue, Economic Development by Social Progress: The ILO Contribution. (International Labour Conference, 56th Session.) Geneva, 1971. 54 pp. English, French.

The ILO in the Service of Social Progress. Geneva, ILO, 1969. 209 pp. English, French.

Some useful publications
for the teacher

International Labour Review. Monthly magazine. English, French.
The World Employment Programme. (International Labour Conference, 53rd Session, Geneva, 1969. Report of the Director-General/Part 1.) Geneva, ILO, 1969. 151 pp. English, French.

UNITED NATIONS
New York,
N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

Basic Facts about the United Nations. New York, United Nations, 1970. English, French, Spanish.

Breakthrough to Tomorrow. The Story of International Co-operation for Development through the United Nations, by Vernon Duckworth-Barker. New York, United Nations Centre for Economic and Social Information, 1970. 72 pp. English, French.

Everyman's United Nations. 8th impression. New York, United Nations 1967. English, French.

Human Rights: A Compilation of International Instruments of the United Nations. New York, United Nations, 1968. 94 pp. English, French, Spanish.

Objective Justice. Vol. 1, No. 1, 1969-. Illustrated quarterly magazine. English, French.

UN Monthly Chronicle. New York, United Nations. English, French, Spanish.

The United Nations and Human Rights. New York, United Nations, 1968. 92 pp. English, French, Spanish.

United Nations. What it is . . . Leaflet. English, French, Spanish.

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)
United Nations,
New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

Les Carnets de l'Enfance / Assignment Children. Multilingual quarterly review.

Strategy for Children. Report of the Executive Director to the Unicef Executive Board. 1967. 86 pp. Illustrated. English, French, Spanish.

Tomorrow is Too Late. Unicef, its history, functions, problems and achievements. 1969. 34 pp. Illustrated. English, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish.

Unicef News. Illustrated quarterly magazine.

Unicef. What it is . . . Leaflet. Illustrated. English, French, Hebrew, Spanish.

The Young World of Unicef. 25th Anniversary Wall Chart/Map.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC
AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)
Place de Fontenoy,
75700 Paris, France.

Education for International Understanding as an Integral Part of the School Curriculum. Geneva, Unesco and the International Bureau of Education, 1968. 240 pp. English, French.

International Understanding at School. An Account of Progress in Unesco's Associated Schools Project. 4th impression. Paris, Unesco, 1971. 109 pp. Illustrated. English, French, Spanish.

Looking at Unesco. Unesco information manual. Paris, Unesco, 1971. English, French, Spanish.

Report of the Director-General on the Activities of the Organization. Paris, Unesco, 1947- . Annual. English, French, Russian, Spanish.

Some Suggestions on Teaching about Human Rights. Paris, Unesco, 1968. 155 pp. English, French, Spanish.

Unesco. What it is . . . Leaflet. Illustrated. English, French, Spanish.

Unesco Courier. A Window Open on the World. Illustrated monthly magazine. Arabic, Dutch, English, French, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Tamil.

Unesco Geography Series Wall Charts: Set I (Europe); Set II (Asia). Co-edition: Unesco/Educational Productions Ltd. Teachers' notes, in separate booklets, included with the charts. Set I: English, French, Spanish. Set II: English.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)
1211 Geneva 27,
Switzerland

WHO Chronicle. Monthly magazine. Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish.

Some useful publications
for the teacher

WHO—its structure and activities. Leaflet. English, French.

*The Work of WHO—Annual Report of the Director-General to the
World Health Assembly and to the United Nations.* Geneva,
WHO, 1948—. English, French, Russian, Spanish.

World Health. Illustrated monthly magazine. Arabic, English, French,
German, Hindi, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish.

Some useful addresses

UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION CENTRES

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United Nations Information Centre, Liberia and Maxwell Roads, P.O. Box 2339, Accra (Ghana).

Area covered: Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone.

Addis Ababa

United Nations Information Service, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Africa Hall, P.O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa (Ethiopia).

Area covered: Ethiopia.

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United Nations Information Centre, 19 avenue Claude Debussy, B.P. 803, Alger (Algeria).

Area covered: Algeria.

Asunción

Centro de Información de las Naciones Unidas, Calle Coronel Bogado 871, Casilla 1107, Asunción (Paraguay).

Area covered: Paraguay.

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United Nations Information Centre, 36 Amalia Avenue, Athinai 119 (Greece).

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United Nations Information Centre, 167/1 Abu Nouwas St., P.O. Box 2398 Alwiyah, Baghdad (Iraq).

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United Nations Information Service, United Nations Economic

Commission for Asia and the Far East, Sala Santitham, Bangkok (Thailand).

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United Nations Information Centre, United Nations Building, B.P. 4656, Beyrouth (Lebanon).

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United Nations Information Centre, Svetozara Markovica 58, P.O. Box 157, Beograd (Yugoslavia).

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Centro de Información de las Naciones Unidas, Calle 19, No. 7-30, 7º piso, Apartado 6567, Bogotá (Colombia).

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United Nations Information Centre, 16 rue Aurel Vlaicu, Bucuresti (Romania).

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Centro de Información de las Naciones Unidas, Marcelo T. de Alvear 684, 3er. piso, Buenos Aires (Argentina).

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United Nations Information Centre, Avenue de la Poste et Place Jungers, boîte postale 1490, Bujumbura (Burundi).

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United Nations Information Centre, Sharia Osoris, Imm. Tagher, Garden City, boîte postale 262, Cairo (Arab Republic of Egypt). Area covered: Saudi Arabia, Arab Republic of Egypt, Yemen.

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United Nations Information Service, 204 Buller's Road, P.O. Box 1505, Colombo 7 (Sri Lanka).

Area covered: Sri Lanka.

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United Nations Information Centre, 37 H. C. Andersen's Boulevard, DK 1553 København V (Denmark).

Area covered: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden.

World problems in the classroom

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United Nations Information Centre, 2 avenue Roume, P.O. Box 154, Dakar (Senegal).

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Dar es Salaam

United Nations Information Centre, P.O. Box 9224, Dar es Salaam (Tanzania).

Area covered: Kenya, Malawi, United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia.

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United Nations Information Service, United Nations European Office, Palais des Nations, 1211 Genève 10 (Switzerland).

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United Nations Information Centre, 88th Street 193-G-6/3, P.O. Box 1107, Islamabad (Pakistan).

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United Nations Information Centre, Shah Mahmoud Ghazi Watt, P.O. Box 5, Kabul (Afghanistan).

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United Nations Information Centre, P.O. Box 107, Lainohaur, Lazimpat, Kathmandu (Nepal).

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Khartoum

United Nations Information Centre, House No. 9, Block 6.5 DE, Nejumi Street, P.O. Box 1992, Khartoum (Sudan).

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United Nations Information Centre, Le Royal, Boulevard du 30 juin, Kinshasa, Zaïre, B.P. 7248.

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United Nations Information Centre, P.O. Box 1068, 17 Kingsway Road, Ikoyi, Lagos (Nigeria).

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United Nations Information Centre, Rue Albert Sarraut, Coin Avenue de Gaulle, boîte postale 911, Lomé (Togo).
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United Nations Information Centre, 14/15 Stratford Place, London W1N 9AF (England).
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United Nations Information Centre, World Health Organization, Regional Office for the Western Pacific, Taft Avenue/United Nations Avenue, P.O. Box 2149, Manila (Philippines).
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Centro de Información de las Naciones Unidas, Hamburgo 63, 3er piso, México 6, D.F. (Mexico).
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United Nations Information Centre, ULRC Building, P.O. Box 274, Monrovia (Liberia).
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United Nations Information Centre, No. 4/16 ulitsa Lunacharskogo, Moskva 1 (U.S.S.R.).
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United Nations Information Service, 1 Barakhamba Road, New Delhi 1 (India).
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Centre d'Information des Nations Unies, 1, rue Miollis, 75 Paris-15^e (France).
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United Nations Information Centre, Hunter Street, Port Moresby, (Papua and New Guinea).
Area covered: Papua and New Guinea, British Solomon Islands.

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United Nations Information Centre, 19 Keate Street, P.O. Box 812, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.

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United Nations Information Centre, Panska 5, Praha 1 (Czechoslovakia).

Area covered: Czechoslovakia.

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United Nations Information Centre, Avenue Urbain Bland/rue de Nimes, 'Casier ONU', Rabat (Morocco).

Area covered: Morocco.

Rangoon

United Nations Information Service, 132 University Avenue, Rangoon (Burma).

Area covered: Burma.

Rio de Janeiro

United Nations Information Centre, Apt. 201, Cruz Lima Street No. 19, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil).

Area covered: Brazil.

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United Nations Information Centre, Palazzetto Venezia, Piazza San Marco 50, Roma (Italy).

Area covered: Italy, Malta.

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Centro de Información de las Naciones Unidas, Avenida Roosevelt 2818, apartado postal 1114, San Salvador (El Salvador).

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Santiago

United Nations Information Service, United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Edificio Naciones Unidas, Avenida Dag Hammarskjold, Santiago (Chile).

Area covered: Chile.

Sydney

United Nations Information Centre, P.O. Box R226, Royal Exchange, Sydney 2000 (Australia).

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United Nations Information Centre, 26, rue de Liège, boîte postale 1348, Tananarive (Madagascar).

Area covered: Madagascar.

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United Nations Information Centre, Off Takhte-Jamshid, 12 Kh. Bandar Pahlavi, P.O. Box 1555, Teheran (Iran).

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United Nations Information Centre, Room 450, Shin Ohtemachi Building, 2-1, Ohtemachi, 2-Chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo (Japan).

Area covered: Japan.

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United Nations Information Centre, 61, boulevard Bab Benat, boîte postale 863, Tunis (Tunisia).

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United Nations Information Centre, Suite 714, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington D.C. 20006 (U.S.A.).

Area covered: United States.

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United Nations Information Centre, P.O. Box 836, Yaoundé (Cameroon).

Area covered: Cameroon.

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RELATED TO THE UNITED NATIONS

International Labour Organisation (ILO)

154, rue de Lausanne, 1211 Genève 22 (Switzerland).

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

Viale delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Roma (Italy).

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco)

Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris (France).

World Health Organization (WHO)

Avenue Appia, 1211 Genève 27 (Switzerland).

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433 (U.S.A.).

International Finance Corporation (IFC)

1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433 (U.S.A.).

International Development Association (IDA)

1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433 (U.S.A.).

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

19th and H Streets, N.W., Washington D.C. 20431 (U.S.A.).

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

International Aviation Building, 1080 University Street, Montreal 101 (Canada).

Universal Postal Union (UPU)

Weltpoststrasse 4, 3000 Berne 15 (Switzerland).

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

Place des Nations, 1211 Genève 20 (Switzerland).

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

41, avenue Giuseppe Motta, 1211 Genève 20 (Switzerland).

Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)

101-104 Piccadilly, London W1V 0AE (England).

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

11 Kärntnerring, 1010 Wien 1 (Austria).

Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization

(*ICITO/GATT*)

Villa le Bocage, 1211 Genève 10 (Switzerland).

SOME INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

International Federation of Organizations for Scholastic Correspondence and Exchange (FIOCES)

29, rue d'Ulm, 75 Paris-5^e (France).

World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession

3, chemin du Moulin, 1110 Morges, VD (Switzerland).

World Federation of Teachers' Unions

Opletalova 57, Prague 1 (Czechoslovakia).

World Federation of United Nations Associations

Centre International, 3, rue de Varembé, 1201 Genève (Switzerland).

UNESCO FIELD OFFICES

New York Office

United Nations Building, P.O. Box 20, Grand Central, New York 17, N.Y. (U.S.A.).

Unesco Regional Office for Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean

Oficina Regional de Cultura para America Latina y el Caribe, Calzada, No. 551, Vedado (Apartado N. 4158), La Habana (Cuba).

Unesco Regional Centres for Science and Technology

Africa

Regional Centre for Science and Technology in Africa, P.O. Box 30592, Nairobi (Kenya).

Latin America

1320 Bulevar Artigas, P.O. Box 859, Montevideo (Uruguay).

Middle East (Cairo)

8 Sh. El Salamlik, Garden City, Cairo (United Arab Republic).

South Asia (New Delhi)

Unesco House, 40 B. Lodhi Estate, New Delhi 3 (India).

South-East Asia (Djakarta)

Djalan Iman Bondjol 30, Tromolpos 273/DKT, Djakarta (Indonesia).

Unesco Education Offices

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Regional Office for Education, P.O. Box 3311, Dakar (Senegal).

Asia

Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia, P.O. Box 1425, Sanam Sua Pa, Bangkok 11 (Thailand).

Latin America

Regional Office for Education, P.O. Box 3187, Santiago de Chile (Chile).



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